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THE JERUSALEM POST

Exclusive interview in prison by Wolf Blitzer

## 'Befuddled' Pollard: Why did Israel abandon me?

**PETERSBURG PENITENTIARY, Va.**—Convicted spy Jonathan Pollard yesterday expressed his "bafflement" over the Israeli government's decision to abandon him after he was arrested outside the Israeli embassy in Washington a year ago today.

It was his first interview since the arrest.

Pollard differentiated, though, between his bitterness towards the Israeli political leadership and his feelings for the State of Israel. "I still love that country as fervently and as passionately as I did before," he said.

"I feel the same way that one of Israel's pilots would feel if after he

was shot down, nobody made an effort to get him out. Not even lifted a finger—in fact—questioned his abilities and his motivations."

Asked why he thought Israel had reacted this way, he replied, "I don't know."

After acknowledging that espionage was a "dirty business," he said: "I can't believe for a minute that Israel would accept a level of attrition in its Diaspora ranks that it

would never accept among the population of Israel...I can't believe that Diaspora Jews are disposable.

"As far as I am concerned I am as much a loyal son of that country as anybody has been. I did my best. I am sorry if it wasn't the most effective thing from a long-range standpoint, but I really did my best."

Wearing the khaki short sleeve shirt of a prisoner, Pollard expressed hope that he and his wife, Anne

Henderson Pollard, would some day make aliyah. "I fully intend to become a useful and productive member of Israeli society," he said. "That's home. That's my homeland."

He repeatedly denied that he ever intended to spy on the U.S., describing himself as a loyal American. But from his earliest childhood he had felt torn between his allegiance to the U.S. and his passionate love of

Israel. He said he had contemplated aliyah since the 1967 Six Day War, when he was 13 years old. Israel "is where my heart is emotionally," he stressed.

He said the Israeli political leadership abandoned him, but Israel had not. Israel had never had "an opportunity to judge" what he was doing. He was especially bitter about the insinuation that he had spied for



Jonathan Pollard

(Continued on Back Page)

## MK Ran Cohen hurt — Jewish-Arab violence continues

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

Knesset member Ran Cohen of the Citizens Rights Movement was injured in the head last night when he visited the Shmuel Hanavi neighbourhood in Jerusalem, a flashpoint in this week's violence against Arabs.

Cohen said he had been attacked by religious extremists from outside the neighbourhood.

The attack on Cohen was one of several clashes between Jews and Arabs yesterday.

Stones were thrown at a Jewish couple in the Old City yesterday afternoon, and the woman, who was five months pregnant, was slightly hurt.

Four petrol bombs were thrown after dark at an Arab building in the Sheikh Jarrah quarter on the border between East and West Jerusalem. They fell in the courtyard of the building and caused no damage.

Cohen came to Shmuel Hanavi last night as some 200 religious Jews attended a memorial meeting there for Elisha Amedi, who was murdered in the Old City on Saturday.

Cohen and lawyer Avraham Gal,

also of the CRM, met with representatives of the neighbourhood in a park near the rally to discuss this week's disturbances in Shmuel Hanavi and what could be done to help residents arrested by the police.

Gal said he saw at least one of the mob holding a stick with a nail at the end and hitting Cohen on the head.

The Knesset member had only praise for residents of Shmuel Hanavi, who, he said, tried to protect him. They took him into a flat and gave him first aid.

But when Cohen and Gal left the flat and headed for their car they were again attacked. A mob pounded on the car and smashed windows before the two men succeeded in driving away. Cohen was treated at Hadassah Hospital Ein Kerem for a head injury which required two stitches.

MK Rabbi Eliezer Waldman (Tehiya) later issued a strong condemnation of the attack on Cohen. He said that the assailants had acted in a manner contrary to the principles of Judaism.

The head of the Shmuel Hanavi neighbourhood committee, Avi



MK Ran Cohen receives medical treatment after being assaulted yesterday.

Alzam, also condemned the attack. Some 400 policemen and Border Police were deployed in the area yesterday evening, as Alzam and other committee members worked hard to calm the atmosphere.

A crowd of adults and children milled around for some time in front of a line of policemen equipped with riot-control gear. Some stones were thrown at the policemen and in a brief clash, one man was slightly injured. A number of local residents were detained but later released.

A 14-year-old Arab youth from East Jerusalem was arrested yesterday on suspicion of pulling a knife on a yeshiva student near the Old City.

The student, Hanan Gur, who lives in the Jewish Quarter, said the boy told him "I'll stab you because of what you are doing to Arabs in the Old City." But the boy was persuaded by a companion to put the knife away.

The youth was later released on bail.

## Khomeini blasts 'Black House' Reagan under fire as defence of his Iran policy falters

**Jerusalem Post Staff and agencies**

President Reagan's faltering defence of his secret dialogue with Iran has done little to repair damage to his administration from the most serious crisis of credibility it has ever faced.

While politicians at home continue to criticize Reagan, Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini has scathingly rejected all American overtures.

Khomeini said yesterday that Iran would not re-establish ties with the U.S., and described the controversy over the secret contacts as "a great explosion in Washington's Black House."

Speaking for the first time on the affair, Khomeini told a large gathering at a mosque next to his north Tehran home:

"One thing I congratulate everyone on is the great explosion that has occurred in Washington's Black House and the very important scandal that has gripped leaders of America."

The Iranian leader spoke hours after a Washington news conference in which Reagan assumed sole responsibility for the secret overtures, conceding that the policy had provoked debate among his top advisers.

Khomeini also condemned Iranian officials who want contacts with the U.S.

"Why have we lost ourselves?" he asked. "Why should we be so Western-oriented or Satan-oriented?"

Khomeini spoke nearly a week after Khomeini revealed that the U.S. had negotiated secretly with Iran for 18 months and delivered some

weapons in a bid to improve relations.

Since then, several top Iranian officials have spoken of a possible rapprochement with the U.S. while adding this could not happen until several Iranian conditions were met.

"Why do you want to create division among the heads of the country?" Khomeini asked, adding: "What has come upon us? Where are we going?"

The ailing, 86-year-old ruler did not name the officials he was attacking. But he did say that one of the officials had made the offending remarks in an address to the Majlis, Iran's parliament.

Reagan, looking weary and subdued at his Washington news conference, said he was convinced of the correctness of his policy of dealing with Iran.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Copters blast PLO boat in Sidon port

**Jerusalem Post Staff**

Israel Air force helicopters destroyed a PLO boat in the port of Sidon yesterday, in the third air attack in South Lebanon this week.

All the helicopters returned safely to base, the army spokesman said, dismissing reports from Lebanon that an IAF aircraft was shot down by ground fire.

Lebanese reports said four people were wounded in the attack, and three civilians were injured when an RPG fired at the helicopters exploded near the harbour.

Israel TV said that the boat was

spoiled off shore, and sped to the harbour in an attempt to avoid attack.

Prime Minister Shamir said last night that the attack was not aimed at the Sidon port itself, and that he did not see this week's incidents in South Lebanon as signs of escalation there.

IAF planes and helicopters hit terrorist bases near Sidon twice at the beginning of the week, and the IDF captured two boats carrying supplies to new PLO bases in South Lebanon.

An IDF spokesman said this week that the PLO efforts to upgrade strongholds in South Lebanon were increasing.

Military sources said that among the goals of this week's raids was blocking attempts to ship arms to Palestinian fighters besieged by Shi'ite Amal militiamen in the Rashidiye refugee camp south of Sidon.

## Five die in suicide bomb blast in zone

**By DAVID RUDGE**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**ROSH HANIKRA.**—A suicide car-bomb attack killed five people and wounded five others at a Unifil checkpoint near the northern border of the security zone in Lebanon yesterday afternoon.

Three of the dead were Fijian soldiers serving with Unifil who were manning the checkpoint, and the other two were believed to be the driver and passenger of the car.

Two other Fijian soldiers at the checkpoint and three civilians were wounded.

According to South Lebanese Army sources, the car was driven towards the SLA checkpoint, which is only 100 metres from the Unifil post, but the driver turned back when SLA troops became suspicious

and opened fire.

The car was stopped on its return to the Unifil post, where Fijian troops ordered the driver and passenger out for identification, the SLA sources said. But as SLA troops advanced to investigate, the bombers jumped back into the car and detonated the massive explosive charge.

Unifil spokesman Timor Goksel last night issued a different version of the incident. He said the car, with only the driver inside, had been stopped at the Unifil checkpoint.

The driver became angry when Fijian troops tried to search the vehicle and he exploded the charge on the spot. Goksel said that the other civilian killed, a woman, had been parking her car nearby and was not connected with the bomber.

## Soviet bid to reconcile PLO men

**Post Middle East Staff**

Soviet efforts to reconcile rival PLO factions made significant progress this week, as Yasser Arafat's deputy Abu Jihad and George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, completed a round of meetings in Prague. The two men had not met in three years.

Abu Jihad (Khalil Wazir) and Habash were reported yesterday to be en route from Prague to Moscow,

where they will resume the talks they began on Monday. Radio Monte Carlo reported.

The meetings are significant, Israeli experts said, because they are being held at such a high level. Abu Jihad is Arafat's No. 2 man in Fatah, and Habash is the leader of Fatah's largest rival within the PLO.

Abu Jihad's presence in Prague this week was a clear signal of Arafat's approval of the current meetings.

## Herzog's Sri Lanka surprise

**By GREER FAY CASHMAN**

**Jerusalem Post Correspondent**

**COLOMBO.**—President Herzog made a surprise six-hour visit to Sri Lanka yesterday and held a luncheon meeting with President Junius Jayawardene.

The visit here came at the end of Herzog's tour of Asia and the Pacific and was kept secret until the last minute.

Jayawardene sent his national security minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, in an air force helicopter to bring Herzog from the Colombo International Airport, about 40 kilometres from the capital.

The two presidents met at Jayawardene's official residence, but Sri Lankan officials declined to give details of the session.

The Lanka News Agency, in a special dispatch to *The Jerusalem*

*Post*, made a point of referring to Herzog's stay as "a technical stopover." But the agency quoted local diplomatic observers as saying that the visit and luncheon were clear signs that Sri Lanka would strengthen ties with Israel.

Herzog flew here from Singapore, where he had met with that country's prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, and told him he was going to Sri Lanka.

In a meeting at which Foreign Ministry officials Hana Bar-On and Avi Primor were present, Herzog asked Lee Kuang Yew for advice on making overtures to India as well, but was told that the situation in that country was not suitable for such a move.

Herzog left Colombo for Israel at 1:45 p.m. yesterday, officials said. There was no Sri Lanka government statement after the visit.

Israeli reporters travelling with

Herzog on his Air Force plane learned that they were going to Sri Lanka only after take-off from Singapore, when the president made a surprise announcement from the cockpit. Even the flight crew had learned of the stop-over only two hours before take-off.

The visit was arranged in September by Primor, who is an assistant director-general of the Foreign Ministry. But Sri Lanka asked Israel to keep the matter under wraps.

A leak from Sri Lanka was narrowly averted on Wednesday, when an opposition parliamentarian asked whether it was true that Herzog was coming. Parliamentary Affairs Minister Vincent Perera dodged the question, saying Foreign Affairs Minister Shaul Hameed would answer when he returned from India the next day.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Suspect held in Negev rape-murder

**BEERSHEBA.**—Lakshish police spokesman said last night that police have ruled out terrorism as a motive for the brutal rape and murder of an Englishwoman, Lucy Amos, near Kibbutz Dorot on May 12. A suspect has been remanded in custody for 15 days, but there is a court order not to divulge any details that might lead to his identification, the police spokesman said.

Information leading to the believed breakthrough in the case did not come from routine police work, but from some 80 people who called a police hotline following a television programme a fortnight ago.

## Squalid quarters for Arab workers in 5-star hotel

**By ROBERT ROSENBERG and YORAM GAZIT**

A five-star hotel in Tel Aviv houses Arab workers from the administered territories in an underground room next to the hotel's garbage dump.

The hotel management says it provides living quarters for workers that are "fit for kings."

Half a dozen to a dozen workers use 12 metal frame bunk beds in a three-by-five-metre room with a single small window overlooking the underground tunnel and parking lot of the Ramada Hotel.

"We feel we're being treated like animals. Worse than animals," one of the workers told *The Jerusalem Post*, which visited the living quarters late one night this week. The workers complain about the stench of garbage, the roar and fumes of passing automobiles, and the rumble of the ventilation system.

University graduates as well as elementary school dropouts share the same room. While the more educated commented on the conditions, the younger, less educated workers said that having a job was more important than anything they had to put up with.

A 17-year-old said that there is

"no work in Gaza," and that he and his friends "are happy to get any job available" in Tel Aviv, "especially in hotels."

The Ramada also maintains two apartments on Tel Aviv's Rehov Harav Kook, where there are five people to a room. According to the workers, they sleep in shifts.

They often work seven days a week for two weeks, followed by three days' home leave. Wages, said workers, are about NIS 500 a month for cleaning men.

Meir Shoham, Ramada's deputy director-general, told *The Post* that the hotel "is proud of the facilities" it provides its workers. "There are no differences between the conditions of Arabs and Jews. They earn the same amount of money." He said that "it's hard to find Jews ready to do the housekeeping work."

"It's expensive, and it's hard to find apartments," he said, adding that he "wouldn't offer living conditions of 10 people to an apartment."

Shoham said that the hotel provides regular guest rooms for workers who are required to stay overnight because of a special event.

Workers from the territories do not fit into that category, he said.

"Any overcrowding," said Sho-

ham, "is a result of them bringing friends, and friends of friends."

He said that the hotel had recently invested \$15,000 to improve washing and toilet facilities for its employees.

There are no toilet facilities directly adjacent to the small cage-like room under the hotel.

Shoham said that all the workers in the hotel are subject to security checks, and that one reason the hotel wants workers from the territories to be centrally located is "to prevent them wandering around."

Shoham complained that *The Post* reporters had "sneaked into the room, instead of coming in broad

daylight." He said he would have been "happy and proud to show the facilities."

The workers *The Post* met did not want to give their names.

Some 30 of the hotel's 280 employees are from the territories. Seven of them, said Shoham, are night-shift workers who sleep in the 15-square-metre room overlooking the hotel garbage dump.

That room is not a cage or a warehouse, said Shoham. "It's the former office of the personnel manager."

He also said that he could not

(Continued on Page 19)



Sleeping quarters of Arab workers at the Ramada Hotel in Tel Aviv.

(Brutmann/Media)

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	20.11.86	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.	SUN.
AMSTERDAM	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
BUSINESS	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
BUSINESS AIRS	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
CHICAGO	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
COPENHAGEN	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
FRANKFURT	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
GENEVA	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
HELSINKI	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
HONGKONG	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
JOBURG	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
LONDON	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
MADRID	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
MONTREAL	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
NEW YORK	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
OSLO	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
PARIS	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
ROME	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
ST. PAUL	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
STOCKHOLM	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
TOKYO	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
TORONTO	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
VIENNA	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16
ZURICH	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16	10-16

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy.

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max	Min
Jerusalem	10-17	10-17	19	10
Galilee	10-17	10-17	19	10
Nahariya	10-17	10-17	19	10
Safed	10-17	10-17	19	10
Haifa Port	10-17	10-17	19	10
Tiberias	10-17	10-17	19	10
Nazareth	10-17	10-17	19	10
Afula	10-17	10-17	19	10
Shomron	10-17	10-17	19	10
Tel Aviv	10-17	10-17	19	10
B-G Airport	10-17	10-17	19	10
Jericho	10-17	10-17	19	10
Gaza	10-17	10-17	19	10
Beersheva	10-17	10-17	19	10
Eilat	10-17	10-17	19	10

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Moshe Schnitzer, president of the Israel Diamond Exchange and honorary president of the World Federation of Diamond Bourses was yesterday awarded the Order of King Leopold, the highest Belgian order of merit. Belgian Ambassador Bob Lebacqz made the presentation on behalf of King Baudouin in the presence of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Vice Premier Shimon Peres, most cabinet members, Knesset members, ambassadors and scores of guests representing Israel's business community who attended the special ceremony at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem.

Monaco's national day was marked on Wednesday by a reception at the Tel Aviv residence of Consul General Dita Rojansky. Ministers Moshe Arens and Yitzhak Moda'i, Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat and many members of the diplomatic corps, headed by U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, were among the guests.

British Airways manager in Israel Ian Nicoll on Wednesday hosted a farewell reception at the Carlton Hotel in Tel Aviv at the end of his four-and-a-half-year tour of duty here. At the reception Nicoll welcomed his successor, Ernest Flaminio.

Shmuel Meir of the Tel Aviv University Centre for Strategic Studies is to speak on the balance of power after Reykjavik at the Rotary Club meeting at the Tel Aviv Hilton at 1.15 p.m. today.

## ARRIVALS

David B. Hermelin, international chairman of Israel Bonds and international co-chairman for tourism on the "Operation Independence" task force, for meetings with Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres on Task Force investment possibilities, in connection with Israel's 40th anniversary programme.

**Rabbi Partovitz, 63**  
Rabbi Nahum Partovitz, the head of the Mirrer yeshiva in Jerusalem, died yesterday at the age of 63.

Thousands of students and followers, including prominent rabbis, participated in the funeral procession from the yeshiva to Har Hamenuhot.

Partovitz was born in Lithuania. During World War II he escaped with his students to Shanghai, and remained there for three years.

**Synagogue vandalized**  
Vandals, apparently children, yesterday defecated in a synagogue in the ultra-Orthodox section of Jerusalem's Ramot neighbourhood, tore up prayerbooks and stole money from charity collection boxes.

The Ohel Yosef synagogue in Ramot Polin is already in use even though it is still under construction and doors have not been installed. (Itim)

**SWIENCIANSKY**  
EMILY KOWARSKY  
daughter of Yale and Sonia Kowarsky, granddaughter of Sholem Kowarsky, from Old Swicincan Vilna Section — would like to meet landlady.  
I can be reached at the Ramat Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem, until Nov. 25 (Tel. 02-528111), room 1123. Home address: 274 Nesher Valley Parkway, Hyde Park, MA 02136, USA.

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

# Salad days end as prices soar

By ANDY COURT  
For The Jerusalem Post  
A kilo of tomatoes cost about as much as a kilo of chicken at Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market yesterday. Tomatoes and cucumbers have more than tripled in price in the past week as a result of severe shortages.

Agriculture Ministry officials say the recent cold weather, which prevented vegetables from ripening, was responsible for the situation.

While the prices of carrots and potatoes are government-controlled, the prices of tomatoes and cucumbers are not: at Mahane Yehuda they are selling at between NIS 4 and NIS 5 a kilo, compared to NIS 1.5 a kilo about a week ago.

The higher prices have not stopped people buying the vegetables, even though other produce, such as red and green peppers, are selling at far more modest prices. "The tomato is the king of vegetables," said Rami Mordechai, a vendor at the market. "You can't make a salad out

of just cucumber and onion," he argued.

Across from Mordechai's vegetable stand, where tomatoes commanded NIS 5 a kilo, Yossi Ella was selling chicken, the luxury normally reserved for Shabbat meals, for NIS 5.50 a kilo.

The tomato dearth has also affected exports, as farmers sneak vegetables slated for export to the domestic market where they get a much better price. Amos Amiad, director-general of Agrexco, said he had planned to export about 6,000 tons of tomatoes this year, but now expects to import about 3,500 tons.

The situation should improve within the next two weeks, according to Shimon Biran, marketing director for the Vegetable Production and Marketing Board. Given a few more days of warm weather, tomatoes in the Gaza area will ripen, he said. But even if nasty weather returns, the crop from the Arava will soon provide an ample supply.

## Taba snags worked out

By BENNY MORRIS  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent  
Israel and Egypt have ironed out the remaining differences on arbitration over Taba, paving the way for ratification of the compromise in the two governments in a fortnight's time and for the start of the arbitration in Geneva on December 8.

Robbi Sabel and Nabil al-Arabi, the respective legal advisers of the Israeli and Egyptian foreign ministries, met in Geneva on Tuesday and Wednesday and overcame the last hurdle, which concerns the index map that is to be appended to the compromise. The map shows the 14 border areas in dispute between the two countries, including Taba.

Egypt wanted the points in dispute to be marked by dots, while Israel preferred to mark these points with circles. Yesterday, the two legal advisers agreed that the map would contain both dots and circles, mark-

ing the various Egyptian and Israeli claims.

The two officials also agreed on the name of the arbitration panel. Henceforth, it is to be officially known as "The Egypt-Israel Arbitration Tribunal Established in Accordance With The Compromise Signed On 11 December 1986." This followed a dispute over the name, with Egypt wishing to insert into the title the word, "Pillars," and Israel wishing to insert the word "Border" — the preferences indicating the thrust of each country's case before the arbitration panel.

The two men also agreed that on December 8, a toss of a coin by one of the international arbitrators would determine who would deliver the opening speech. The two officials did not decide who would toss the coin, but Israeli sources last night said that this would be "no problem." (See page 7)

## Two Israelis sue 'Time'

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — Time magazine, which emerged badly bruised from a libel suit filed by Ariel Sharon in 1983, is now facing another libel suit from Israel.

As in Sharon's case, one of those implicated is David (Dudu) Halevy, formerly a Time staffer in Jerusalem and now stationed in Washington. Tel Aviv attorney Eli Teicher and journalist Ami Doron are suing Time, its editor Henry Anatole Grunwald, and Halevy for \$250,000 damages, claiming that in its November 17, 1986, issue, Time printed "misleading, false and defamatory" material about them.

The story in question dealt with U.S. National Security Council expert Howard Teicher, who, the magazine charged, "recently emerged as a source of a Washington disinformation campaign." The magazine went on to allege that Teicher "caused another flap five years ago when he tried to publish a fictionalized account of Israel's nuclear secrets. The manuscript was confiscated by the Israeli military censor."

However, the American Teicher never wrote such a book. The manuscript, titled *No One Will Survive Us — The Story of the Israeli A-Bomb* was written by plaintiffs Eli Teicher and Doron seven years ago, but its publication was banned at the time. They claim that their book was not fictional.

The plaintiffs' attorney, Yehuda Ressler, accuses Time of "severe negligence in merging the identities of Howard Teicher and Eli Teicher, thereby slandering the Israeli Teicher by making it appear that he was disseminating disinformation on behalf of the Washington administration."

Ressler argues further that "Time should have been doubly careful with a story submitted by Halevy, as he had already been severely reprimanded" by the jury that heard the Sharon libel suit. The jury then ruled that Halevy had "acted negligently and carelessly in reporting and verifying the information."

## HERZOG

(Continued from Page One)

Growing ties between Jerusalem and Colombo have been criticized by the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which severed diplomatic relations with Israel when it was in power in 1970.

According to foreign agency reports, Jayawardene's government has purchased gunboats from Israel to pursue Sri Lanka's war with Tamil militants, who have been fighting since 1983 to set up an independent state in the island's northern and eastern sectors.

In 1984, the government invited Israel to set up an interest section in the U.S. Embassy here. It has since moved into a commercial building, and several Israeli officials have reportedly visited Colombo.

Some of the Tamil rebel groups have ties to PLO factions, and there

have been foreign agency reports that Israeli intelligence agents have helped Sri Lanka in its battle against the Tamils. There has been no official confirmation of the reports.

Numerous amputees from the Sri Lanka military have travelled to Israel to be fitted with artificial limbs. In Sri Lanka itself, Israel is participating in the \$4 billion Mahaveli river agricultural development project.

There is an official PLO Embassy in Colombo.

## Herzog to visit Germany

President Chaim Herzog is to pay an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in April 1987. This was announced by the West Germany Embassy in Tel Aviv yesterday.

have achieved," one security expert said.

In fact so clear were the signs of Vanunu's unreliability that the editorial staff at *The Sunday Times* refused to believe his story. How was it possible, they asked, that a man with a poor military and academic record, an open supporter of the Palestinian cause and an aspiring member of the Communist Party, was allowed to continue working in Israel's most secret facility, though he had three times been questioned by Dimona's security people. They also asked how a man as clearly unstable as Vanunu, whose public behaviour was often more bizarre than his political inconsistencies, was not only trusted enough to continue working in Dimona, but was even



Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek talks with Arab residents of the Moslem Quarter in the Old City yesterday, in the area where Jews and Arabs have clashed since yeshiva student Eliahu Amedi was murdered last Saturday. (Isaac Harari)

## Kollek: Rioters help PLO

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Rioting Jewish extremists are furthering the aims of the PLO, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek charged yesterday while visiting the site of recent Jewish-Arab violence in the Old City's Moslem Quarter.

Kollek met students of the Ateret Cohanim yeshiva and Arab merchants at Akabat el-Khalidieh, the site of Saturday's murder of a student at the Shuvu Banim yeshiva. He discussed municipal aid to Arab families made homeless after the week's arson and stoning attacks by yeshiva students in the area.

Kollek said that Shuvu Banim had long been a source of trouble in the Moslem Quarter, and that the munici-

pality would take up seriously the issue of its activities once tempers had cooled.

"They are a group of wild, irresponsible men who have caused harm to the city and to the state. I believe that if the PLO had planned to harm us, then these people have carried out its mission. Most of the population wants coexistence."

Kollek said Israel's control of Jerusalem would be determined by "our degree of responsibility, alertness, and level-headedness. It is in our national interest that Jerusalem remain quiet, so it can be built. The danger is not from the terrorists, but from those extremists who attempt to show the world that this city is not one," he said.

## Workers won't punch clock, but will take pay cut at HU

By BERNARD JOSEPHS  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Hebrew University has failed in a bid to persuade its administrative workers to clock out as well as clock in, a workers' representative has said.

But the employees have agreed in principle to join their academic colleagues in taking a pay cut and they are prepared to at least discuss the problem of overmanning, which the university says has reached the level of 300 jobs.

The institution's officials, engaged in a battle to save it from financial collapse, have been negotiating for weeks with the administrative staff over pay and clocking-in procedures.

It is believed that, because they do not have to punch their time cards on the way out of the office, some workers are receiving pay for hours not worked. This is denied by members of the works committee, who say they do not want the system

changed.

The committee's deputy chairman Reuven Goldberg said that his people had agreed "in principle" to take a 6.5 per cent pay cut, in return for a change to a 5-day, 37½ hour work-week. Presently they work 40 hours over 6 days.

He added: "Nothing has been signed yet but we have reached an understanding on pay. However, we refuse to change clocking-in practices. This will do nothing to improve the situation. Those who want to cheat will still be able to do so. Most of our staff love the university and love their jobs. They do a full day's work."

A decision by the staff to accept a cut in pay is vital to efforts by university chiefs to reduce the institution's \$50 million-plus deficit.

The senior academic staff have already agreed to take a pay cut, but only on condition that the administrative staff make a similar sacrifice. (See pages 3,5)

## REAGAN

(Continued from Page One)

Commentators said Reagan could still rely on his huge stock of popularity with the U.S. public. But the half-hour news conference raised fresh questions over the whole affair and failed to project an image of strong leadership.

Reagan was accused yesterday of breaking laws in his secret dealings with Iran as friends and foes alike maintained a barrage of criticism.

The new speaker of the House of Representatives, Democrat Jim Wright of Texas, told a news conference the president had broken a law forbidding countries from transferring U.S.-supplied arms to third countries and a law requiring timely notification to Congress of secret operations.

While the president's Democratic opponents issued scathing comments on Reagan's performance, a Republican ally, Senator Mitch McConnell, said his popularity had not been wiped out.

"The American people simply think that on this particular occasion he made a mistake," McConnell said on television.

Democratic Senator Hart said Reagan had got away for years with "not knowing very much. If people want to hold him to the same standard they held Jimmy Carter, John Kennedy and just about everybody else, I think he's hurt pretty badly."

said Hart, seen as front-runner for his party's 1988 presidential nomination.

An NBC News-Wall Street Journal poll taken this week, before Reagan's news conference, showed that 82 per cent of Americans disapproved of U.S. arms shipments to Iran. Only 10 per cent approved.

The survey also found a steep drop — from 51 to 38 per cent — since a similar poll last month in the number of Americans who approved of Reagan's performance in the foreign policy sphere.

Reagan's overall job approval rating remained high, with 57 per cent saying he was doing an excellent or good job compared with 61 per cent last month.

But the Iran affair is seen by some political commentators as having signalled the end of Reagan's famed personal invincibility, dubbed the "Teflon" effect because no blame for failures had stuck. Teflon is non-stick cookware.

Most critics said the most serious damage from the Iran affair continued to be the impact on the credibility of Reagan's whole foreign policy programme.

By dealing with Iran, Reagan violated his own strongly proclaimed stance against states he says are linked to terrorism as well as his policy of neutrality in the war between Iran and Iraq.

allowed in the inner sanctum there. And finally, how could this state of affairs have continued unnoticed for some three years, with Vanunu being left free to take pictures of the innards of Israel's atomic plant with an ordinary, noisy, 35mm. camera.

One major worry is that Vanunu may have imparted information about his work to sources other than *The Sunday Times*, before he decided to go public. "Given his known political affiliations it is not inconceivable that he may have supplied an ongoing stream of information to hostile sources while he was still on the job," *The Post* was told by a security expert. "That is the real danger," he said.

So far there has been no indication that any heads have rolled in the security organizations as a result of the Vanunu revelations. However, *The Post* was assured by a senior defence official that a major investigation is under way and that it "will have far-reaching consequences."

The public is probably going to have to take the defence official's word for it because details of this investigation will never be made public.

## IN PERSON

ROY ISACOWITZ

# 'Red Ken' converts: Now, he loves Israel

Outwardly, at least, the Ken Livingstone who visited Israel this week bore little resemblance to the notorious "Red Ken" who has kept the British establishment spluttering in outrage since the early Eighties.

Livingstone is the former head of the Greater London Council and is virtually assured of election to Parliament in London's Brent East constituency next year. In Britain he is known as a radical left-winger, in the forefront of "trendy" causes such as feminism and gay rights, and an antagonist of all things Zionist.

More, the surprise, then, to hear Livingstone say that he had "fallen in love" with Israel; to hear him laud the achievements of the Israeli Labour movement and describe the pleasure he felt in being in Israel, in comparison to "Thatcher's Britain."

Livingstone describes his image — that of a "drinking fanatic who can't be left alone with children" — as the antithesis of the British press, which he describes as "the most distorted in the world." The moderate, sensible Livingstone who toured Israel this week was the guest of Mapam was, he says, the real thing.

But Livingstone's problems do not begin and end with the British press. Much of his notoriety with British Jewry, and Israel stems from an unfortunate interview he gave to a journalist from the Israeli newspaper *Davar* a couple of years ago.

In the interview, which he describes as being "in the tradition of the British press," Livingstone was quoted as saying that the Jewish Board of Deputies in Britain was "dominated by reactionaries and neo-fascists," among other choice statements.

Livingstone says that *Davar* "mangled" him. He stoutly denies saying the words attributed to him. He regards the Board of Deputies as "an unbelievably cautious and respectable" body, but certainly not neo-fascist.

He does not deny another quote, which aroused the ire of Jewish members of the British Labour Party: that the Jews had traditionally supported Labour "not necessarily because they were socialists but because the Conservative Party was anti-Semitic."

The early anti-Semitism of the Tories and the resulting Jewish inclination towards Labour are "profoundly provable facts," he says. Today, with the waves of black immigration, the anti-Semitism of the Tories has "dramatically weakened," he says. At the same time, Jews who managed to establish themselves and amass wealth have grown conservative and many have begun to vote Tory.

Nor does Livingstone deny the existence of anti-Semitism in his own party, Labour, though he cautions against a "large element of over-statement." The Labour anti-Semites are in the "old Bevan tradition," he says. Others to whom the label of anti-Semite has been attached were simply critics of the Lebanon war and not anti-Semites at all, he says.

The anti-Zionist image is also inaccurate, Livingstone maintains. "Anti" is the wrong word. Sure, I've been critical of Zionism and intensely critical of the Israeli government. But I'm critical of all governments, and it is clear that there are strands of Zionism which are among the most progressive in the world."

Livingstone's visit has left him convinced that the opportunities for peace have seldom been better than at the present time. The weakness and disension in the Palestinian camp and the atmosphere created by the Egyptian and Jordanian initiatives of former prime minister Shimon Peres have all contributed to an opening which, he believes, will not last longer than the next few years.

The price, of course, is direct negotiations between Israel and the PLO and the provision of "something tangible" to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat. Livingstone believes that the risk is worth taking but is not sure that Israel's leaders can deliver.

A memorial service for the late

## Dr. SOLOMON BURACK

will take place on Sunday, November 23, at the Sanhedria, Jerusalem cemetery.

Family, friends and former pupils will meet at the cemetery entrance at 3.30 p.m.

The tombstone in memory of my beloved mother

## IDA DEUTSCH

will be consecrated on Thursday, November 27, 1986 at 3 p.m. at the Zichron Meir cemetery, Givat Brak.

Alex Deutsch



# FOREIGN NEWS

Israel not named in news conference

## Reagan accepts burden for Iranian contacts

WASHINGTON. — President Reagan has assumed sole responsibility for secret White House contacts with Iran and said while no more arms will be sent, he planned to pursue his policy of seeking better relations with Tehran.

At a news conference on Wednesday night devoted almost entirely to the Iran Affair, Reagan defended an 18-month-old initiative that led to the shipment of what he called small amounts of defensive weapons to the warring Gulf nation.

"I considered the risks of failure and the rewards of success, and I decided to proceed. And the responsibility for the decision and the operation is mine and mine alone," he said.

Reagan, who looked tired and subdued during the question and answer session, said he was convinced of the correctness of his policy. It was the 75-year-old president's first news conference since August 12.

In a speech last week, Reagan said he had sent defensive weapons and spare parts to Iran in a bid to improve long-term relations, to end the six-year-old Iran-Iraq war, to eliminate state terrorism and to help free American hostages from Lebanon.

Tuesday night, he told reporters that three of the hostages had been released, and he had reason to believe all five would have been freed by last week-end had the clandestine operation not been exposed.

Since the operation began, however, three more Americans have been seized by shadowy groups in Lebanon whom U.S. officials believe are also linked to Iran.

The president faltered on three major issues in his press conference, leading the White House to issue a clarification minutes after he finished speaking.

Measuring his words in halting

phrases, Reagan appeared ill at ease defending his decision to pursue a secret dialogue with Iran which involved weapons shipments.

Pressed about Israeli involvement in the contacts and shipments, the president replied: "We have had nothing to do with other countries."

About 10 minutes after the close of the half-hour conference in the White House East Room, a statement was issued in his name saying: "There may be some misunderstanding of one of my answers tonight. There was a third country involved in our secret project with Iran."

Israel was not named, but the statement said third country weapons shipments to Iran were not authorized by Washington.

Such "misstatements" occurred in past impromptu exchanges between Reagan and the media, and the president's first news conference in three months on Wednesday night was no exception.

Confusion also arose over his definition of a POW missile, a weapon shipped to Iran that he said was shoulder-fired.

Told by a reporter it was a ground-to-ground missile, he said: "If I have been misinformed then I will yield on that."

After moving with visible relief to answer the evening's only question on U.S.-Soviet relations, the president added fresh confusion to his previous statements on what precisely he had almost agreed with Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev at their summit in Reykjavik last month.

He said they had agreed on the desirability of "eliminating all strategic nuclear missiles in a five-year period."

The superpower leaders envisaged the dramatic arms curb over a 10-year period.

Public opinion polls have shown

widespread disbelief among ordinary Americans that Reagan opened channels to Iran for long-term strategic reasons. The polls indicate most Americans believe — despite Reagan's vehement denials — that he was seeking the release of the hostages and had provided arms to Tehran in return for its influence with groups in Lebanon holding the Americans.

The pressure on Reagan built up further yesterday as Robert McFarlane, the man he sent on a secret mission to supply arms to Iran, called the deal "a mistake." McFarlane made the statement in a Washington Post interview.

He had arrived in Tehran on May 28 on board an aircraft carrying "defensive weapons and parts" to forge contacts with Iran's possible future leaders.

In yesterday's interview, McFarlane said: "It was sensible policy to determine whether one could have a political dialogue with reformist people in Iran. I think it was a mistake to introduce any element of arms transfers into it."

Immediately after Wednesday's press conference, leading Democrat defense expert Sam Nunn, Senator for Georgia, said: "I counted at least seven contradictions from what I have been told by his aides in the past week. We have a foreign policy that's in serious disarray and it's time to take some strong steps."

Reagan on Wednesday appeared to lay to rest, at least for the time being, widespread rumours that Secretary of State George Shultz might resign over clandestine arms shipments to Iran.

But it remained unclear whether Shultz had won what some State Department officials describe as a "bureaucratic guerrilla war" with the White House National Security Council to gain control of U.S. policy over Iran. (Reuter, AP, AFP)

## Gas cloud over Basle as third factory 'leaks'

BASLE (Reuter). — A cloud of strong-smelling gas escaped from a plant near Basle and floated over the city yesterday in the third chemical accident to hit this area of Switzerland in as many weeks.

The accident occurred at the Ciba-Geigy plant in the Schweizerhalle Industrial complex, which lies on the banks of the Rhine just east of Basle.

Coming so soon after the massive pollution of the river Rhine in one of the accidents, the leak brought fresh demands for tighter safety controls in the Swiss chemical industry, which is concentrated around the country's second biggest city.

The head of the local canton, Werner Spitteler, reacted swiftly to the latest accident and said: "This should never have happened... The people of Basle are afraid and so am I. We must take measures to stop this." As the pre-dawn cloud headed across the city, authorities warned residents to keep windows and doors shut, saying the phenol gas could hurt eyes and hamper breathing.

Government experts said it was not immediately clear how dangerous the gas was, though officials said the accident was less serious than the previous ones.

The experts said that although phenol itself was toxic, the substance in this case was highly diluted.

The gas, which later dispersed, escaped from a plant near the site of a November 1 fire at a warehouse owned by the giant Swiss chemical firm Sandoz. The accident caused pollution of the river by mercury, pesticides and other substances along the waterway as it flowed past four countries.

On October 31 an accident at a chemical plant owned by the Ciba-Geigy company caused pollution of the river by weedkiller.



Beirut residents gather in front of the Central Bank yesterday to protest against the high cost of living and inflation. Hundreds of housewives and school children marched through West Beirut to condemn the "war of starvation." (Reuter telephoto)

## Fierce fighting reported in S. Lebanon refugee camp

TYRE (Reuter). — Fierce battles rocked the Rashidiyah refugee camp in South Lebanon yesterday as Palestinian and Shi'ite Muslim fighters accused each other of launching fresh assaults.

Amal militia sources in this southern port said Palestinians launched two attacks at dawn in a bid to overrun two Amal positions in the latest "camps war."

In Beirut, Palestinian sources said that Amal had launched a new foray against the beleaguered Rashidiyah camp. Both sides said artillery, mortars and rocket-propelled grenades pounded the area for more than three hours.

Tyre residents said the fighting was the heaviest since feuding erupted between Amal militiamen

and Palestinians at the camp last month. Both Palestinian and Amal sources said their comrades had suffered no casualties.

In Beirut, police reported that intermittent sniper fire at another flashpoint, the Bourj Al-Barajneh refugee camp, kept the main highway closed between the capital and its airport.

In Sidon, foreign exchange offices closed early yesterday after threats against local currency dealers, witnesses said.

The threats followed an explosion in Lebanon's Central Bank in Moslem West Beirut Wednesday night after two rocket-propelled grenades slammed into the building.

## FOREIGN NEWS IN BRIEF

### Pupil kills principal

BETHLEHEM, Georgia (AP). — A 13-year-old student stabbed his school principal to death after a disciplinary conference turned into a heated argument between the man and the boy's mother.

Murray Kennedy, 43, principal of Bethlehem Elementary School, died after he was stabbed in the heart in his office yesterday, apparently with a nail file, the Barrow County Sheriff's department reported.

### Rotterdam bomb blast

AMSTERDAM (Reuter). — A bomb exploded in front of an American Express travel agency in Rotterdam on Wednesday night, causing extensive damage to the building, police said yesterday. No one was hurt.

An anonymous telephone caller to a Dutch news agency later said the Red Revolutionary Front was responsible for the blast.

### War games in China

PEKING (AFP). — The People's Liberation Army is conducting war games using hundreds of camouflaged tanks, armoured cars, automatic artillery and rocket launchers, the New China News Agency said yesterday.

It said reporters had been allowed to observe the exercises, but it did not say how many soldiers were taking part, where they were being held or how long they would last.

### Curfew in Madagascar

ANTANANARIVO (AFP). — A curfew has been slapped on Madagascar's principal port-city of Toamasina after demonstrators clashed with police earlier this week, reliable sources said here yesterday.

They said there had been casualties but could not say how many.

The sources said the demonstrators, who were mainly dockers and prostitutes, had sacked and looted shops belonging to Chinese and Indians and a rice warehouse. The trouble follows government measures to eradicate chronic losses at the port.

### Thais expect attack on Cambodian fighters

BANGKOK (AFP). — Vietnam has massed about 6,000 fresh troops in Cambodia along the Thai border in readiness for a dry-season offensive against Cambodian resistance guerrillas, a spokesman for the Thai Supreme Command said yesterday.

The troops, with tanks and artillery, are deployed in the west and northwest of Cambodia, the spokesman said.

He said the Vietnamese were preparing to attack two refugee camps, which house some 170,000 Indochinese refugees, and that the Thais are ready to retaliate.

### Greek artillery

ATHENS (Reuter). — Deputy Defence Minister Theodoros Stathis said yesterday Greece had sold Iraq \$12m. worth of artillery shells over the past year but denied the government was taking sides in the Gulf war.

## Moscow calls off visit by Bonn

BONN (Reuter). — The Soviet Union has called off another high-level visit to West Germany at short notice, its third cancellation this month, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

A spokesman said the ministry was told by Soviet Ambassador Yuri Kvitsinsky on Tuesday that this week's planned visit by Vyacheslav Muravchikov, First Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the state Agro-Industrial Committee, was being postponed.

A Soviet Embassy spokesman said the trip had apparently been postponed "for reasons of scheduling."

Relations between the two countries have been strained since a magazine published an interview with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, quoting him as drawing an analogy between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Nazi propaganda boss Josef Goebbels. Kohl has said this was a distortion.

A planned visit to West Germany by a delegation of Soviet journalists was also called off.

## SA air experts in Moscow for crash probe

MOSCOW (Reuter). — Seven South African aviation experts arrived in Moscow yesterday for talks with Soviet officials on decoding a flight recorder from the plane that crashed and killed Mozambican President Samora Machel.

One of the group, who declined to be named, told reporters at Moscow Airport they planned to inspect Soviet deciphering equipment. They had not brought the plane's recorder, he added.

He said he expected his group would meet a delegation of Mozambican specialists arriving in Moscow, possibly today.

Mozambique and other African countries accused Pretoria of responsibility for the crash of the Soviet-made Tupolev Tu-134 just inside South Africa on October 19.

TRADE. — East Germany and Libya yesterday signed an agreement to expand trade links in electronics, technology, transport and agriculture.

## 'Syria offered cash to Berlin club'

WEST BERLIN (Reuter). — A West Berlin court was told yesterday that the Syrian Embassy in East Berlin had offered money to a German-Arab society that was blown up weeks later, injuring seven people.

Hassan Ammush, who worked at the German-Arab Friendship Society (DAGB) in West Berlin, told the court a Syrian Embassy representative had met the head of DAGB, Abu-Rahman Muradas, weeks before the March 29 bombing.

"I was told he (the Syrian) offered them money. He said, 'You must tell us how much you want,'" Ammush said.

He said a member of the society, Mahmoud Jabbar, named a sum of 500,000 marks (\$250,000), but the money was never paid.

Asked if he knew why the Syrian Embassy should pay money to the society, he said he did not know.

On Monday, Ahmad Hasi, charged with the bombing, was quoted as saying the Syrian Embassy had supplied him with the bomb for the attack.



Babarak Karmal (AFP)

## Karmal, Afghani leader, resigns

ISLAMABAD (Reuter). — Afghan President Babrak Karmal, replaced as Communist Party leader last May, yesterday resigned all government and ruling party offices, nearly seven years after he came to power, Kabul Radio reported.

The radio said Karmal was relieved of his offices at his own request at a meeting of the Revolutionary Council. No successor was named.

Karmal became president and leader of the Communist Party in December, 1979 when the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan to bolster the government in its battle with Moslem guerrillas.

He was replaced as party general secretary, and effective ruler of the country, last May by former secret police chief Najibullah, head of the party's pro-Moscow faction.

The state radio gave no reason for his resignation and said nothing about what the former ruler would now do. (Reuter, AP)

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LONDON. — An onza, a long-legged puma-like wildcat, which has never before been seen by scientists, has been shot in Mexico.

The female onza was killed by a rancher who feared it was about to attack him. The specimen is at a Mexican laboratory where zoologists are studying it to determine whether it is a new species. It was probably about four years old, weighed 60lb and was over 5ft long.

The discovery has just been revealed by the International Society of Cryptozoology, which investigates animals reported but the existence of which has not been confirmed scientifically.

Zoologists have speculated that the onza could be the survivor of an early form of puma, known from fossils, which was thought to have become extinct more than 100,000 years ago.

HEROIN. — Milan police have seized 111kg. of heroin with a street value of \$700m. in what the city police chief said was one of the world's biggest drug hauls in 30 years.

**Book on Jewish Vienna**

A book is being prepared on the Viennese Jewish community before and after the Nazi take-over. I would greatly appreciate hearing from those who might have information or experiences to relate. I would especially appreciate hearing from anyone who worked in the Zionist youth brigade organized by Aron Mencer, or who was in some way associated with, or has knowledge about, this remarkable man.

George Barkley, Professor,  
University of Massachusetts,  
Downtown Center,  
Boston, MA 02125, U.S.A. (0219-223794)

## Communists say truce talks may resume

## 100,000 mourn Filipino union chief

MANILA. — More than 100,000 mourners yesterday joined the funeral march of leftist trade union chief Rolando Olalia while Communist leaders hinted they might halt ceasefire talks unless President Corason Aquino proves he controls the military.

Throughout the day and well into the night, thousands of Filipinos wound their way through the streets

of Manila to mourn the slain Olalia in a demonstration that brought the army out to defend the presidential palace.

Ceasefire talks were suspended by the Communists following the murder of Olalia and his driver a week ago.

The leftists blame a military faction linked to Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile for the killing although

Enrile denies the charge.

Rebel negotiators said they would resume talks when Aquino proved she had control of the military. "We are asking the Aquino government to show definite evidence that it has control over the armed forces. That is very important," a leftist spokesman said.

But in a speech to mourners at Olalia's funeral the same leader said the communist-dominated National Democratic Front "will continue to seek peaceful means of negotiating with the Aquino government."

Representatives of the government were also present at the funeral.

Since Olalia's murder, a Japanese businessman has been kidnapped; David Puzon, a former member of parliament and a close friend of Enrile has been assassinated and two bombs have exploded in the capital.

The violence has added to tensions about the ability of the Philippines' new government to survive.

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## Knesset debate of the week

## The fury in our midst

By DVORAH GETZLER

Post Knesset Reporter

What will be the future of our state? Will the conflagration rage forth from Zion because we cannot contain the fury of the boogymen in our midst, asked Citizens Rights Movement MK Yossi Sarid. But that was not the concern of Shas' Ya'acov Yosef. For him the problem was how to make the state an object of fear and not "a paper tiger."

For Yosef, the question was whether the Israeli police, when asked about the murder last Shabbat of yeshiva student Elisha Amedi, could claim in all good conscience: "Our hands have not shed this blood."

The shrillness that marked the 10 motions for the agenda on the murder in the Old City echoed the ugly, terrifying events that engulfed the streets of the capital this week. The rhetoric in the Knesset, the horror of the killing to death and the subsequent fire bombings, stonings, smashing of windcreens and racist incitement and intimidation, all, in turn, mirrored, albeit in miniature, the tragedy of another city, of far away Belfast.

Sarid pointed out that the questions being asked here today were not new.

In November 1937, five Gordonia *halutzim* were slaughtered by Arab gangs at Kibbutz Kiryat Anavim. The Eizel wreaked a terrible vengeance, slaying five Arabs in three separate attacks in Jerusalem.

David Ben-Gurion had then written: "Do the [Arab] gangs care whether a *fellah* delivering green groceries to Rehavia is killed by Jews? The gangs have a political aim: terror is for them merely a means, and every spilling of innocent blood simply aids their political aims... Who are these bands of (Jewish) boogymen who have taken the law into their own hands... They are, so they claim, acting for all of us. Who gave them that right? If we remain silent, we shall bear the responsibility, and we shall not be able to say: 'Our hands have not shed this blood.'"

Ben-Gurion's answer, quoted by Sarid, was to suggest that the *provocateurs* be expelled from the country. "I don't suggest that," said Sarid. "But I want them thrown into prison... those *provocateurs* whose only aim is to make political capital... to exploit this terrible moment for their cynical ends."

Why, Sarid asked, had the government not spoken out? Why were known trouble-makers not brought to book except in the rarest of cases? This country would become a hell on earth, would descend into chaos, if the rule of law failed.

Neither Sarid nor Mapam's Eliezer Granot slurred over the murder of Amedi.

For Sarid, the slaying was the work of knife-wielding gangs. "And gangs do not fight for a people and a people's rights."

Amedi, said Granot, had been a random target, slain solely because he was a Jew. And that was a crime not only against the Jewish people, but against the Arabs, to whose people the murderers belonged.

"Their act, and the acts of others like them, have served only to spread distrust, enmity and hatred, and to strengthen the uncompromising and the wicked among our own people."

Woe to the Palestinians, said Granot, if such were their leaders, their inspiration, their trail blazers.

But Israel, too, had become convulsed by a concatenation of the euphoria of power and the fear felt by the oppressed and the murdered. This "has bred a hysteria that calls for the blood of the innocent, for collective punishment of Arabs simply because they are Arabs."

Morality, said Granot, was indivisible. The Arab murderers, the Jewish thugs, were all criminals, "and we all, Jew and Arab alike in this



MKs Ya'acov Yosef and Avraham Verdiger.

(Harari, Bruttman)

land, are paying the price for their actions." Extremists on both sides feared the day of peace, for that would spell the end of their political power. But we all pay the price of blood that they extort.

The knife that had struck down Amedi, and the voices of those calling for vengeance, would together again rend asunder the capital of this country. "We cannot allow them to succeed."

But for speaker after speaker from the right, both secular and religious, that was not the issue. The problem, said Yosef, of the ultra-Orthodox Sephardi Torah Guardians, was that the public believed the police and security forces had lost control. If they could not prevent murder, where would we end? Were we all destined to die?

The role of the police, he said, was to prevent such murders as Amedi's. "and not merely to hit out cruelly at the protesting mourners."

Nor was Yosef ready to endorse the international acclaim that Teddy Kollek has won as keeper of the peace.

"We don't expect much from Mayor Teddy Kollek. It is impossible to expect of such a man that he should forestall such acts and prevent such unrest," said Yosef.

Let us act before there is a collapse comparable to the collapse of the Bar-Lev line, he urged. "For years Jews have asked to be given back the houses that belong to them in the Moslem Quarter. To no avail. (Such) settlement is crucial."

"The very fact that, generally speaking, the Arab residents do not turn in the murderers, and even cover up for them, reflects their attitudes. There is a conspiracy of silence among them."

For Yosef, there could be only one answer: "The earliest possible settlement of the Moslem Quarter by Jews."

Morasha's Avraham Verdiger went further: "This entire land... was stolen from us, and we have wrested back that which was stolen from the hands of those whose right it is only to be residents - with equal rights and of equal worth - but not the owners. For no other people has the right to claim ownership over the whole of the land of our fathers, Eretz Yisrael."

How, wondered Verdiger, who belongs to the Poalei Agudat Yisrael wing of his faction, could it be made clear to Arabs on both sides of the Green Line, that Jewish blood would not go

unavenged. We could not believe them, when "after every such murder or attack on Jews, they said: 'We saw nothing, we heard nothing, we are not responsible for what happened...' In most cases, it becomes clear that [the attackers] acted with the knowledge of the Arab population and more than once have been sheltered in their homes and shops."

The answer, said the Likud's Yehoshua Matza, a Jerusalemite, must be an iron fist policy. Arabs must again fear the defence forces.

The only way to ensure the right of every Jerusalemite - Jew and Arab alike - to live in peace, Matza said, was to see to it that every Arab become totally convinced that Jews cannot be intimidated. "When fear is instilled into both the murderer and those who cover for him, then Jerusalem will again become safe."

And why, indeed, had the Arabs ceased to fear us, asked Agudat Yisrael's Menahem Porush.

Had we sufficiently examined our consciences over the exchange of more than 1,100 terrorists, while at the same time Jews sat in jail for crimes against Arabs? Such an asymmetrical approach must, he said, encourage the Arab terrorists.

What policy dictated that Jewish settlement must be confined to the Jewish Quarter of the Old City? Who was it that dared to abandon entire sections of the Old City? Kollek's role in all that needed scrutinizing, Porush urged.

There was no Jewish hospital in the Old City, Porush said. Bikur Holim Hospital's original building now housed a youth hostel, and the hospital's pleas to return had gone unanswered. (The Hospice Hospital, the only one in the Old City, was closed some months ago.)

In a barely veiled reference to Ariel Sharon's "pacification" of the Gaza Strip, the National Religious Party's Avner Shaki asked: "If it has been proved elsewhere in the country that the fight against terror, Israeli anti-terror, can succeed in rooting out the terrorists and their leaders, why should the same thing not be done in the capital of Israel, in order to restore to it peace and tranquillity?"

But that was not the way for the Alignment's Binyamin Ben-Eliezer.

He had no magic formula to offer, but neither could he accept Tehiya MK Rafael Eitan's solution - to establish a Jewish settlement every time a Jew was murdered by an Arab.

## Please don't do that

By JOEL GREENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

In the entrance hall to one of the houses in the Moslem Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City, there is a makeshift exhibition of objects hurled at the building this week by students from the nearby Shvu Ba'nin yeshiva.

A kerosene-soaked rug, a metal bucket full of cotton doused with kerosene, and three large, sharp stones are part of the collection assembled by the American family living in the house. The violence against them followed the murder last Saturday of Shvu Ba'nin student Elisha Amedi.

Some windowpanes on the side of the house facing the yeshiva are shattered, others are cracked, and sections of plastic cover holes where there were once windows. The family is worried about further attacks from the yeshiva, which is perched on the highest building in the area and dominates the houses along the Alkabat el-Khalidieh alley, where Amedi was stabbed.

The family is among the few in the building that have not left their homes despite repeated stonings and arson attempts by the yeshiva students. The father, who has kept a log of the week's assaults, recounted the week's ordeal as black-clad Shvu Ba'nin students walked back and forth outside the apartment windows, emptying the contents of an unoccupied Arab-owned room adjacent to the yeshiva.

The man's wife was one of the first to see Amedi last Saturday as he lay bleeding in the alley. She offered help and covered him with a blanket. Hours after he was buried, stones began crashing into the windows of her home. It was early Sunday morning. "I looked up and saw a man leaving large rocks down at us," the woman said. Later that day she saw a petrol bomb flying from the yeshiva to the roof of an adjacent Arab building.

On Tuesday a bottle of hydrochloric acid was tossed at the father as he walked near his home. The bottle shattered, splintering him with the corrosive liquid, which ate holes through his jacket.

On Wednesday the mother saw a hail of stones thrown at an Arab who had come to inspect his family's flat, which had been evacuated at the beginning of the week. Later in the day, she said, firemen who came to put out a blaze in one of the Arab houses had their water hose cut as they worked.

As the couple spoke, Border Police reinforcements took up positions near the house. The couple said the police had done little to stop the anti-Arab attacks. "Their reaction has been very low key, and their approach has been to ask people, 'Please don't do that,'" the man said.

"I told police I could identify two of the attackers, but they only took down my statement and said they would get back to me later."

Abdel Fattah Abu Smea, who owns a bakery near the American family's flat, claimed this week that Border Police stood by as Jewish extremists attacked the bakery for an hour and a half, shattering glass on the bakery door, locking workers inside and trying to set fire to the premises.

"I have no problem relating to Jews as neighbours, but these are extremists who have made such a relationship difficult," the American said. "They've become a giant thorn in everyone's side here."



The Kogans arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport on Sunday. (Bruttman/Media)

## Sage of Leningrad celebrates freedom

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Unlike many Russian Jews who came to Judaism late in life, Yitzhak Kogan, "the Tzaddik of Leningrad," was born into an observant family and thus, almost from birth, was aware of the dangers of living a religious life under adverse conditions.

"From the age of eight days, I had a link with the Almighty," he said with a twinkle in his eyes.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* towards the end of his first week in Israel, Kogan was literally beaming at the fact that he was in Jerusalem, a free Jew after a lifetime of underground and semi-legal existence. He said he still had to restrain himself from running up and embracing all the Jews he saw on the streets.

Kogan's maternal grandfather was a Tora sage, and his father was Orthodox. Yitzhak began his Jewish education at the age of six, with a private tutor (melamed) who taught him in Yiddish. Kogan later learned his Hebrew prayers by rote.

In public school, he had other Jewish friends, who knew, for example, that he could not eat in their homes because they did not keep kosher. But at the same time, he had to attend school on Saturdays, only daring to stay home on Yom Kippur.

"Those were the days of Stalin and it was very dangerous to be a religious Jew," he recalled. His grandfather had been arrested and imprisoned for baking *matzot* for the community. As a result of his imprisonment, he died at the age of 54.

Other Orthodox Jews also studied

with him at University, although they often didn't even know who was Jewish. Eventually, Jewish students began to learn that Kogan's home was open to them as a place where they could experience Judaism.

For the past six years, Kogan acted as *Shohet* (ritual slaughterer). Jews would pay the non-Jewish slaughterer for the privilege of taking his place and pay a premium price for the meat they bought.

"*Shehitah* (ritual slaughtering) isn't illegal in Russia," he explained with a smile. "But it is illegal to work as a *shohet*." When Kogan began, he slaughtered one cow a fortnight. By the time he left, he was up to 18 animals a week.

Through the sale of kosher meat, he said, it was possible to maintain contact with other Jews, to influence them and to help them. In this way they could learn how to keep Shabbat, how to have a Jewish marriage, and where to read about Judaism.

"Thousands of Soviet Jews are seeking some form of spirituality in the Soviet desert," he said matter-of-factly. Some find their way to Christian missionaries; but others find their way to a Jewish home.

There are, he said, hundreds of observant Jews in Leningrad today, and they too undoubtedly have other Jews visiting their homes. It was not easy for Kogan to leave the Jews of Leningrad.

"I do feel that in coming here I have abandoned them," he admitted. "It was very hard to say goodbye to them. They were like our children, our family. I can only hope and pray that I can help them to be with us here."

## Canners, fishermen agree with the Rabbinate

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. - The fishermen and the fish canners, traditional rivals at the bargaining table, were united yesterday in their praise for the Chief Rabbinate.

Asked to comment by *The Jerusalem Post* on reports that the rabbinate was preventing the importation of canned fish because it did not trust the *kashrut* labels, spokesmen for both sides commended the decision to despatch special supervisors to the sources of supply to examine the situation.

"I'm not a religious man and I don't eat kosher food, but in this case the rabbis are right. There's a difference between committing a sin

and leading believers to sin by misrepresentation," a spokesman for the canning industry told *The Post*.

The rabbis were "quite right" in their suspicion, he stressed.

"In the canning industry abroad, Israeli buyers have become a laughing stock with their *kashrut* tricks," the spokesman added.

"A canner in Bangkok told me a short while ago that if I wanted the can 'kosher,' I should behave like all the Israelis and send him the labels. He'd put them on."

"Then he asked me confidentially to explain just what kosher means."

The fish was usually tuna or mackerel, which are kosher, the spokesman said, but "no *kashrut* observer would touch them if they saw them

being processed together with shrimps, oysters or eels, as they are in the Far Eastern factories."

The secretary of the Fishermen's Union, Arye Tzur, said: "I shake the rabbinate's hand."

The ban came at a particularly auspicious time. The sardine fishing season in Lake Kinneret has begun and yesterday the union and canners sat down for their first round of negotiations for the guaranteed purchase by the industry of the 2,000 tons of sardines the fishers expect to land during the November-March and July-September seasons.

"With a brake on the imports being brought in at dumping prices we can afford to negotiate," the industry man said.

He stressed that he was not cling-

ing to the *kashrut* straw to save the industry from competition.

"I am talking about unfair competition. The importers would lose three-quarters of their market if they admitted that their imports were not kosher. For one, the big chain stores would not handle them."

"We employ a full-time supervisor at each cannery and spend a lot of money to make them kosher for Pessah. This year extra sums were spent to buy tomato purée and vegetables for fish salad from non-Jews to conform with the *shmita* [sabbatical year] requirements."

"The importers who are competing with us, simply evade all these expenses by putting a label on their cans," he said. "This is a blessing for the country's fisheries."

הרבנות הראשית לישראל  
THE CHIEF RABBINATE OF ISRAEL17 Heshvan 5747  
November 19, 1986

## An "American Food Festival"

was launched this week at some supermarkets, with all imported items advertised as kosher.

The Chief Rabbinate regrets to inform the public that many of these goods have no *kashrut* certification.

**THE LETTER "K" ALONE DOES NOT GUARANTEE THE KASHRUT OF ANY PRODUCT,** and the Chief Rabbinate urges the public to refrain from purchasing products not bearing a reliable *kashrut* symbol.

The Chief Rabbinate of Israel  
Kashrut Division

HC01-28-02

## Lack of funds causing brain-drain in sciences

By BERNARD JOSEPHS

A sharp warning that lack of government money could lead to a foreign take-over of Israeli science has been sounded by the head of the National Academy of Science and Humanities Prof. Yehoshua Yortner.

In a memorandum to Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, Yortner called for the immediate establishment of a \$20 million-a-year programme to boost research. The need is urgent, he asserted. Delay would speed up the country's eclipse as a world leader in scientific research, a process that has already begun.

Reliance on foreign sources of finance by Israeli researchers, said the professor, has led to their loss of independence and to the growing role of overseas backers in directing local research programmes.

The situation has sparked a brain drain in which the most talented scientists prefer to work abroad, said Yortner. And it was also damaging prospects for immigration and the chances of attracting returning Israelis.

He told Navon that unlike other advanced countries, Israel provides no direct (government) aid to university research. And he warned: "If this continues, then in another five years Israel will not be represented among the leaders in such central fields of research as computer science, agriculture, medicine and biology."

Even today, he said, the country's universities were badly off compared to such institutions in advanced countries. And the tendency to further reduce this support was in "direct contradiction" to what is happening abroad.

Yortner called on the minister to set up a national committee to oversee research and direct funds into fields where breakthroughs can be expected in the next 10-15 years.

Meanwhile a source in the Committee of University Presidents said they believe that hundreds of scientists and other academic experts presently abroad do not intend to return.

## ARE YOU A CRAFTSMAN/WOMAN?

The Jerusalem Post invites you to participate in its Hannuka Children's Toy Handicrafts Fair, to be held at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem, Monday, December 22. Full details from Beverlee Black, 02-551627 or Ray Bernard, 02-551628.

COOKBOOK. - The Ofakim local council has published an English cookbook entitled *From the Melting Pot*, containing recipes from the town's women. The book is intended for sale in South Africa.

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## News in the optics field - Bifocals

Contact lenses for adults

Latest developments make it possible today to solve the problem of people suffering from headaches while reading, and to free them of the need to keep putting on and removing their eyeglasses. Bifocal contact lenses enable you to switch from closeup to extended range viewing without having to change eyeglasses or strain your eyes. You can read a newspaper or watch television alternately and effortlessly - as simply, comfortably and easily as when you didn't wear glasses. The latest contact lenses have many advantages over bifocal eyeglasses which are heavy, clumsy and keep sliding down the nose. The lenses, on the other hand, blend with your natural look.

Experiments conducted abroad have shown that adults accustomed themselves to these lenses far more readily; as a result of the modern structure of the lenses, another factor is the ability to fit them on people who have worn glasses for many years and have only now tried contact lenses. Bifocal contact lenses have only recently arrived in Israel as well. Having been exposed to extended testing with proven success, the Ishobit chain was chosen for Bifocals fitting and marketing in Israel.

(ADVT.)

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HOW YOU HOTEL \$1,000 do

The new... apartment...

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# The Hebrew University comptroller's verdict: Generous to a fault

AT A time when the Hebrew University's coffers were empty and clouds of financial ruin hung low over its campuses, a function was held at a Jerusalem night spot for which the university footed the bill of nearly NIS 3,000.

The official who signed the payment order added an afterthought: "Approved, despite the budget deficit," he wrote.

This is one of the details in what is perhaps the most controversial document produced at the institution this year — the 275-page long comptroller's report for 1984-5.

Every year the comptroller, Moshe Ben-Ze'ev, produces his report that includes the slip-ups that plague the university — as they do all public bodies.

Generally the weighty document raises little public interest. But this year, with the HU on its knees and with a furious debate being waged over who is responsible, it attracted special significance.

Everyone, from Acting President Amnon Pazy down, agreed that all the faults dug up by the comptroller, together with all of those he failed to find, made little difference to the financial situation at the university.

"They are just a fraction of what we have lost," said an official.

But they also agreed that the report

provides an insight into the atmosphere that prevailed just before the uncovering of the bombshell deficit that left the university's leaders shaken.

Said one senior staff member: "There is nothing in there that is so terrible. But the overall impression is of Nero fiddling while Rome burns."

The comptroller, many of whose recommendations have already been acted on by the university, came down heavily on over-spending, unjustified perks such as trips abroad, entertainment and car expenses. And in several instances his criticisms have been forcefully backed up by the university's Committee for Matters of Control headed by Judge Felix Landau. These are some excerpts from the report.

ON FOREIGN travel the comptroller reported that most of the senior officers of the university went abroad in summer 1985 at the expense of the institution. Between September and October, the entire leadership including the president, director general and secretary general were all overseas. "What is the explanation? And how does this look in the eyes of the public?" he asked.

The price of sending one senior official to the University of California at Berkeley for a year of study came under special scrutiny.

## Bernard Josephs looks into the story behind the financial plight of the Hebrew University

The trip cost the university about \$70,000.

This included salary, rent, travel costs, clothing expenses and allowances, including English lessons for the official's wife (the cost of which has now been returned to the university). The comptroller asked: "Should someone who is travelling for study purposes receive a salary?"

The question was also raised by the Control Committee, who said they could not accept the position of the university "that it has to accord to its emissaries the condition that the Foreign Ministry accords to an ambassador."

"There is no justification for giving (such conditions) to someone studying abroad out of public funds," it said.

The committee and the comptroller called for efforts to reduce overseas trips. The committee added: "Noting the financial straits of the university the committee recommends that trips not be authorized for the administrative staff unless there is a clear and immediate benefit for the university."

The total cost of foreign trips for administrative staff came to nearly NIS 144,000.

ON THE general budget, the comptroller found that while all other departments at the university were asked to cut spending by 2 to 2.5 per cent, the management budget was increased by 24 per cent.

This followed a meeting involving the director-general, the head of finance and other senior figures in which it was agreed to raise the management budget for such items as overtime, car expenses, refreshments, ceremonies and local travel and telephones, said the report.

"It is not clear how all other units could be asked to cut spending while management spending was increased," commented the comptroller.

"This is all the more significant in view of the fact that the administration should serve as an example for others," added the Control Committee.

The comptroller found that despite a decision to try to limit the overtime of

administrative workers to 9,000 hours, the figure had reached 12,000 hours, and this was divided among 21 workers at a cost of NIS 73,000.

Some workers, he went on, had been given permission to sign their clocking-in cards by hand, and he doubted if this situation was in line with "the concept that overtime is according to the needs of the job, and not a concealed benefit."

The custom of signing clocking-in cards by hand should be re-examined, said the comptroller.

The comptroller spotlighted what he described as an "unjustified situation" in payments for car expenses. He called for an end to the "double payment" of insurance and registration fees for deans and more senior officials. They receive an allowance for these costs as a set sum, and according to receipts.

He also found that officials using university cars did not report journeys and receive unlimited petrol coupons. Total fuel costs for 1984-85 came close to NIS 16,000.

Sample surveys of reports on inter-city trips raised doubts about their accuracy, added the report.

As for telephone expenses, the comptroller found that the university pays the phone bills of 56 senior staff members. In

addition it overpaid the bills in order to make up for income tax charged on the amounts. It was found that while staff members were abroad their phone bills did not drop, "probably due to collect calls by staff to their homes."

Both Pazy and former president Don Patinkin replied to points in the report.

Patinkin said that expenses on short-term trips would be reduced and rules would be laid down for the approval of long-term trips.

On the administration budget, Pazy said that its level had been "unrealistic for years." In fact administration spending had dropped between 1982 and 1985 from \$1,340,000 to \$836,000.

Former president Patinkin and Pazy accepted the comptroller's suggestion for a review of the signing of clocking-in cards. The whole matter of overtime pay is being examined and allocations of overtime will be reduced, said Pazy.

Pazy added that in future cars will be placed at the disposal of only the president, rector, vice president, director-general and chancellor. Those belonging to other senior officials are to be sold.

Patinkin said that a quota would be set for phone expenses while, in individual cases, expenses would be paid as in the past.

## After the big sleep, the rude awakening

THE HEBREW University of Jerusalem, once a jewel in the nation's crown, has lost its sparkle. Facing a financial crisis of overpowering proportions, it is beset by a battery of problems ranging from low morale to allegations of downright dishonesty by some of its staff.

What was once a proud institution, floating on a tranquil sea of inflation-proof dollars, has become, some say, a symbol of all that is wrong with the management of Israel's institutions of higher education.

Other universities are also suffering from government cuts and effects of the recession. But none, it seems, has been hit as hard as the Hebrew University.

The statistics that confront its leadership are awesome.

The university was, at the last count, \$50 million in the red. But this cumulative deficit is growing by up to \$60,000 a week — a situation being watched very carefully by its bankers. Just managing the debt costs \$3m-\$4m a year.

Then there is the budget for the year. This has been cut by 10 per cent and now stands at just over \$12m. Most of it goes on salaries and pensions. The approximately \$30m that is left must meet all the other expenses of running a university with four separate campuses, over 4,000 staff and 17,000 students.

As a result, little can be spared for the vital items without which academic standards are bound to fall. The university has fine buildings, and pleasant grounds dating from earlier days. But its libraries, laboratories and computers are feeling the pinch.

Human casualties, too, have been heavy, and are bound to mount as the battle to save the university rages. Over the past few months, 70 unteaching academic staff were told they no longer had jobs. And the administrative staff has also been heavily cut — though it is still considered to be bloated.

Higher up the scale, the university's president, Professor Dan Patinkin, was the first victim. When the full extent of the trouble became clear at a governors' meeting in September, he resigned. Earlier this week he was joined by the director-general, Israel Bar-Ghil, who was responsible for the day-to-day running of the institution.

With many more job losses in the pipeline, morale is abysmal. The latest joke on campus, said one staff

member, is that immigrants from Chelm (the village which, according to Yiddish folklore, is populated by fools) are suing the university for slander because their home town is being compared to it.

A SURE SIGN of low spirits is the plethora of stories about mismanagement and poor work habits — many, according to the recently-issued comptroller's report, are true. "It is very depressing," said an administrative officer. "Most people here work hard. But there are some who take advantage of the slackness in the system."

Tales abound of staff who clock in, stay for a few minutes and then walk out, perhaps to go moonlighting. "As we are not required to punch our time-cards on the way out there is nothing to stop us except office discipline. And in some places here that doesn't exist," said the officer.

The university management has tried to persuade the unions to agree to punch time-cards both on arriving and on leaving the office, but to no avail.

Another source described the system of financial management as "barbaric."

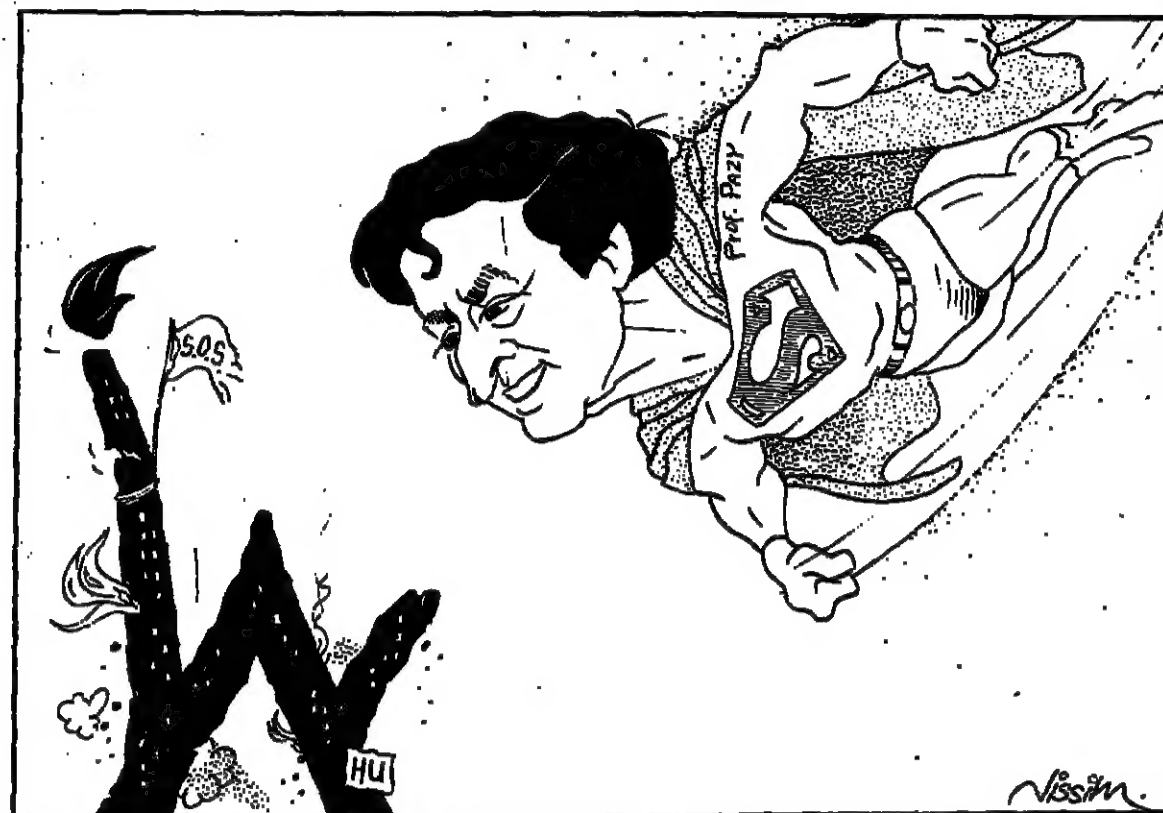
"Nobody knows what is going on. Money comes in and nobody knows where it is from or what it is designed for," he said. There was one case where a foreign donor had informed the university that it wished to make money available, but, for tax reasons, needed an official request. No request was sent and so no money was received.

THE MAN with the unenviable task of pulling the university out of its nose-dive is the acting president, Professor Amnon Pazy. He was appointed by a shaken board of governors after a meeting during which they were informed that the deficit, thought to have been around \$20m, had grown to \$50m.

The young professor heads an emergency committee that includes Bank Leumi chief Baruch Yekutieli and financial expert Dan Barvi. They are charged with taking sweeping measures to stop the rot.

Sitting at his desk in the president's suite, Pazy said: "It is difficult to overstate the seriousness of the situation. If we don't take the correct action now, the deficit will get out of control and we will end up not being able to get credit."

The main cause of the crisis, he admitted, was that the university had



been caught with its pants down when the government ordered an abrupt change of economic policy in July 1985.

Until then, things had gone fairly well. The institution, receiving a large proportion of its income from overseas in dollars, was able to profit from inflation by taking advantage of the steady devaluation of the shekel. This allowed it to live above its means without incurring too large a debt.

But when the national unity government cracked down on inflation by freezing the shekel, the rules of the game suddenly changed. The university had to rely on the real value of its income and it was too slow in adjusting to the new situation.

"It took us until last August to realize what was happening," said Pazy. "There is no doubt that this was a sign of something wrong. There are dozens of suggestions as to why it happened, but I have heard no rational explanations."

"Having a dollar income at a time of high inflation and devaluation put us in such a comfortable position that we fell asleep. We felt that this year would be like all the others — and it wasn't. There is no question we should have been more alert."

The false security felt by the management led to increased spending. A special maintenance budget of \$600,000 was introduced. A \$700,000 programme for specially gifted students was launched.

Needless students were given extra aid to the tune of \$500,000; and a scheme was introduced by which students who paid their tuition fees in one go received a reduction. That lost the university some \$800,000 in fees.

Then there were perquisites for the staff such as cars, trips abroad and other benefits. "None of these cost so much," said Pazy, "but they are characteristic of a situation in which people believe their organization is in good shape."

PAZY WAS NOT the only one to point to the euphoria that existed

before the Peres-Modai economic earthquake.

David Levhari, an economist representing the senior academic staff, recalled:

"When we last negotiated our salaries we were told things were quite healthy. That was about 15 months ago and there was a deficit of only \$3m, or so. At least, that is what the management believed. In retrospect it turned out that the real position at the time was a deficit of between \$18m and \$20m."

"The university didn't know what was going on. They did not have sufficient financial controls to tell them they were on the edge of disaster. As a result, there was a definite atmosphere of optimism and people behaved accordingly."

### Bernard Josephs

One of the biggest blunders, Levhari asserted, was in the building programme. Despite the transfer of several faculties to Mount Scopus, building went on at Givat Ram. In one case, an elevator was added to a building but the foundations were discovered to be too weak. The requisite reconstruction proved costly.

"For four or five years I had told the university heads to stop the building. They thought it was a joke. They regarded me as a troublemaker. I told them there would come a day when I would remind them that I had warned them. This is that day," said Levhari.

By the summer, he went on, the deficit was over \$40m, and was out of control. "Our computer work was no good. We were offered software from an outside concern to deal with the situation, but we replied that we had our own. It seems it didn't fit the bill."

Another major problem, Levhari pointed out, was the handling of the university's pension liability. The institution has no pension fund and must pay from its current budget.

Last year, the bill for this was \$12m, about 10 per cent of the total budget.

Faced with the cruel facts of the university's position, Levhari and the senior staff agreed to cut their salaries by about 8 per cent.

"We feel very bitter about this," he said. "Our salaries are low. A full professor, for instance, takes home between \$800 and \$1,100 (he did not mention the perquisites), so we have no guilt feelings about what has happened. Some of us manage by having more than one job; but increasingly, our people are looking for work abroad. We had no choice but to accept the pay cut because otherwise the university would go under."

THE MAN who was directly involved in the running of the university's finances, director-general Israel Bar-Ghil, rejected much of the criticism that has been levelled against him and against the university's administration.

He agreed that slow reaction to the change in government economic policy had been the major cause of the crisis, but said he had been powerless to prevent it.

Speaking just a few days after quitting his job, he said: "People do not understand that in running a university there are many factors that you cannot control."

"Planning has to be long term. So when conditions change suddenly, like they did in July, there are bound to be problems. This is not a question of losing control of the situation. There was no flexibility in the budget. Eighty per cent was wages. When the shekel was frozen, the real cost of paying those wages went up, and this was after years in which the opposite had happened. There was nothing we could do."

He rejected charges that under him, money had been wasted and the administrative staff — everyone from cleaners to senior officials — had grown to unjustified proportions. Reacting to claims that Tel Aviv University, with 20,000 students, has 1,100 administrators, while the Heb-

rew University, with 17,000 students, has more than 2,000, he said: "There are several big differences between this university and others. First of all, we use fewer outside contractors. Our own people are used, whereas in other places contractors would be hired. This is a historical fact which I could not change."

"Of course, when you use outside workers it is much easier to get rid of them when you can't afford their services. This has been a real problem."

In addition, said Bar-Ghil, the Hebrew University carries out several national tasks. Its staff run the National Library, where 150 people are employed. And the opening of Mount Scopus as a campus was "a national decision, taken for national and not university reasons."

Despite all this, he said, he had reduced the administrative staff by 200 over the past few years, and no extra academic staff had been hired.

On the recently published report by the university comptroller, which slammed excessive perks and oversized budgets, Bar-Ghil, who is to leave at the end of this month, said:

"Of course he has found faults. That is his job and there are no public institutions where things don't go wrong. Anyone who says otherwise is a liar. But why make such a thing about it?"

"Take the matter of officials using office phones for private calls. It is wrong. No question. But I have been in public service for many years, and I haven't met a single clerk in any office anywhere who would get up from his desk and use a public phone to call his wife."

I'm not saying these things aren't important. They are matters that must be dealt with. But nobody can tell me that when all the things in that report are put right it will make much of a dent in the \$50m we owe."

Bar-Ghil said that he was leaving his job with a feeling of satisfaction. He had wanted to quit together with Patinkin, but had been persuaded to stay on. Now he felt there was nothing more he could contribute, so it was time to go.

AS ACTING PRESIDENT Pazy toiled to save the situation. This week, there was at least some news to cheer him. The administrative workers agreed in principle after months of negotiation to take a 6.5 per cent pay cut, in exchange for a five-day week of 37½ hours instead of six days with a total of 40 hours.

But perhaps of equal significance was their agreement to discuss the management's call for a reduction of 300 in their staff level.

Said workers' committee member Reuven Goldberg: "We know that we have been seen as the villains of the piece, but this is a wrong image. The university could not go on without us."

"Our numbers may be inflated and we are prepared to talk about this, though we are not prepared for drastic action. I know that our work ethic has been attacked. Well, I have been in other public institutions and as far as work ethic is concerned, this is one of the best."

Goldberg confirmed that the committee had rejected management's call for clocking out as well as clocking in.

"This will do nothing to improve

the situation. Those who want to cheat will still be able to. But most of our staff love the university and love their jobs. And they do a full day's work."

THE ROAD ahead for the university is clearly a rocky and painful one. Friends' organizations abroad, particularly in the U.S., have launched massive campaigns to raise funds. Their first aim is to make up the \$3m deficit that will result from this year's budget.

In a recent letter to the international board of governors the chairman, New York financier Harvey Krueger told them: "You must increase your fund-raising activities substantially and quickly. Make no mistake: this is a moment as fraught with danger and as filled with opportunities as any in the 61-year-history of the university."

But whatever their efforts yield, Pazy believes that only a far-reaching reform of the institution can restore it to full health.

"My true feeling is that as salaries are not exaggerated here, the long-term answer is, unfortunately, firings. But these should be carried out carefully according to a programme. We do not want to act in a hysterical manner."

Actions being taken now were "make-do measures," he said. \$10m had been cut from the budget and efforts were being made to increase income by \$12m. This should see the university through 1987. But 1988 would be the "crunch" year, he believed.

Among the cuts already instituted were cancellations in purchasing lab equipment and computers and in maintenance. These totalled some \$7m. Many non-permanent administrative workers were not rehired, which saved another \$800,000.

Pazy also hoped for an increase in government support which has fallen sharply in recent years. But he said the final answer will be a complete restructuring of the administration set-up and, perhaps, academic units as well.

"Unfortunately this will involve firing as well as hiring. In the end we have to reduce the size of the staff."

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# 'The objection is to a man whose sole qualification is membership of the party'

THE NATIONAL unity government is popular: the public are glad that opposing parties are working together, implementing bipartisan policies. But this idyllic picture has a darker side. Under the surface antagonisms have sharpened. Chief victim is the civil service, and the damage inflicted on it by Israel's unique wall-to-wall government coalition is beginning to look serious.

The damage in question is the practice of political appointments. This began, as Likud spokesmen never tire of reminding us, when the state was founded. The three Labour parties, united in the Histadrut, controlled everything, with a niche reserved for the religious. Herut was out. Ben-Gurion classified them, together with the Communists, as raboo.

When Herut came to power at last in 1977, they naturally tried to redress the balance, and no civil servant that I have spoken to takes exception to this. Why the complaints then? In this article I shall quote the many people I spoke to though I cannot mention them by name. None of them would let me; and that alone says a lot about the present situation.

The objection, according to a senior official in one of the big ministries, is not necessarily to the appointment of a party man; it is to the appointment of a man whose sole qualification for the job is party membership. "If an official is good, the method of his entry is soon forgotten. But if he is unequalled or incompetent, the harm done by his nomination is incalculable."

It is not only that he does his job badly, but he blocks promotion to people who have learnt their jobs the hard way and devoted their careers to the service of the department. "A Foreign Ministry diplomat makes the same point: 'We are badly paid in the civil service, but the responsibilities are very great. We can make an important contribution to public affairs, and that makes up for the other shortcomings. Each time there is an intake to this ministry 600 young people apply, and perhaps a dozen are accepted. Their career prospects are mapped out — so many years as second secretary, as first secretary, as counsellor, as minister. The higher they rise, the fewer vacancies are available."

"Yet top-level vacancies are kept for outsiders. (It used to be 15 but was reduced when the number of embassies dropped after 1973.) So the openings are fewer still; and if you lose a post as head of mission to a man who could never match your candidacy before any objectively-minded tribunal, it hurts more."

In 1974 Yigal Allon recruited an outsider as director-general: Professor Shlomo Avineri, and there has not been a ministry man in the job since. Dayan brought in Yosef Tchehanover; Shamir brought in David Kimcher; Peres has brought in Avraham Tamir and Yossi Beilin. We staffers have lost the possibility of reaching the top post in our own ministry. It is frustrating."

The frequency of change is itself detrimental — the textbooks will tell us that if we do not know it already. Lack of continuity makes it difficult to conduct the business of a large and intricate organization efficiently. In the Labour Ministry there have been four director-generals in eight years (after the retirement of Aryeh Gurel in 1978): Israel Goralnik (non-party), Asher Ohayon (Tami), Zvi Tsilker (Herut) and now Yehoshua Davidovich (Herut).

With the repeated introduction of gate-crashers unfamiliar with the work and not always chosen strictly on merit, standards deteriorate.

NOT EVERYBODY nominated by Mapai in the old days was the ideal choice, it must be said, and favours were done. But they were the exception, not the rule. Labour governments had a wide choice. Herut was then a small faction, and the Liberals (then General Zionists) tended to be businessmen occupied in the private sector.

Though the party card remained important through the Fifties, the civil service gradually developed a persona of its own. In 1959 an Appointments Law was passed regularizing the enrolment of civil servants. Tenders had to be published, and each candidate was interviewed by a special committee whose members were not allowed to question his political affiliation.

During the Sixties the administration ceased, broadly speaking, to be party-based. A quality career service was developing, ministries became more efficient and less bureaucratic. Before long, however, other forces were at work. By the mid-Seventies change was in the air.

It is easy to blame Herut, but causes of the decline antedated its arrival to power. In 1977 Menachem Begin, the man whose name Ben-Gurion refused to utter, became prime minister. He had a sense of *mamlahtut*, or nationhood, as against the factionalism of daily politics. A new minister is entitled to adopt a new director-general, and that (and other) opportunities were exploited, but not so far on a large scale.

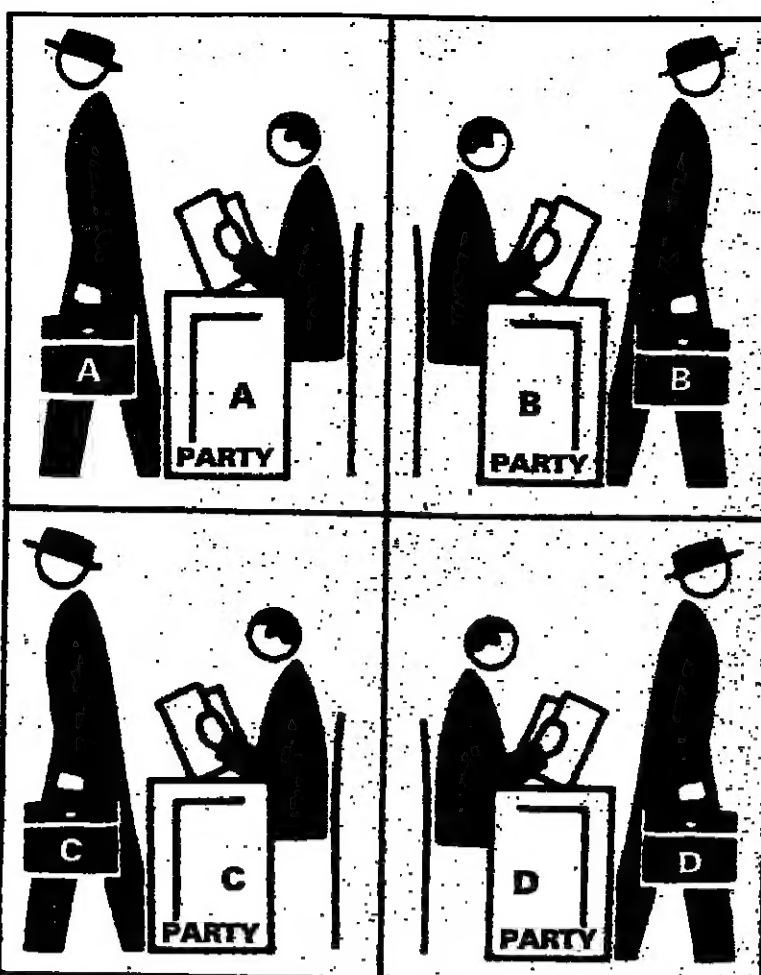
The rules of impartial selection had been watered down already under Mapai. Certain senior posts were exempted from the tender system at the beginning, e.g., secretary to the cabinet, attorney-general, accountant-general. The list included already then (in 1959) whole job categories: advisers to the government, heads of mission in the diplomatic service, district commissioners.

Gradually over the years other positions were added that could be filled at the minister's discretion subject to cabinet approval, including posts which, it would seem, could be perfectly well filled in the conventional competitive manner, e.g., district attorneys (exempted in 1970), the head of the Ecology Service (1973), the head of religious culture in the Education Ministry (1976), the man in charge of the struggle against the Arab boycott (1977), the head of the Shipping and Harbours Division in the Transport Ministry (1980), the head of the Road Safety Unit (1982) and many others.

In theory the law applies to everybody; in practice the government started making exceptions. Before long came another regulation. When a person is employed, it specified, on work under special conditions, the Civil Service Commission is entitled to lay down in the *Official Gazette* and on terms fixed by the government that when deciding his pension rights, his period of service shall be considered in whole or in part as equivalent to a longer period than was actually served."

That is very convenient. If the government wants to get rid of someone, it can offer him a larger pension. The possibility was in fact being prepared, deliberately or not, for passing the rules that had been devised to take the civil service out of politics.

The need soon arose to utilize the new loopholes. As one of my informants explained: In the old days the political parties were compact organizations dominated by powerful leader figures. Personalities like Golda Meir could impose a certain



(Stephanie Alneu Schirger)

## JOB FOR THE BOYS

David Krivine suggests adopting the system of allowing only specific government posts to be political

moral discipline on the rank and file. Today control has weakened and leadership is divided. Interest groups (camps in common parlance) have become rivals for power — Peres versus Rabin in Labour; Shamir versus Levy versus Sharon in Herut. Moda'i versus Sharir versus Palt in the Liberals. Central party councils have grown in size. Politicians fight each other for precedence and dish out favours to win support.

Crude abuse of the impartiality rule in the public service began with the small parties. Worst sinner was Tami, which took over the Labour Ministry (first Aharon Abu-Hatzeira, then Aharon Uzan). Directors-general can go, so out went the head of the National Insurance Institute, Rafael Roter, a professional of the highest standing, to make way for Danny Aziel, one of the party faithful.

THE EXPLOSION came in 1984, with the formation by Peres and Shamir of the national unity government. Up to now camps were competing for power within the parties, which was bad enough. Now the big parties are competing with each other inside the government, which is much more destructive. The unity of the coalition is more apparent than real, its dissolution is always imminent. Eyes are cast on the next elections, and every party, every

faction, every leader is busy building his or its power-base.

The Appointments Law of 1959 is still in force. Despite the exceptions legally enacted to its provisions, it should apply a brake to the ambitions of the politicians; and it does to a considerable extent. Helpful also is the pressure of the Histadrut, of the workers' committees in the ministries, and of public opinion backed by a watchful press. The ministers themselves are to a greater or lesser extent aware of their national responsibilities. Units that depend on specialists in the professional field, like the Health Ministry, are relatively immune to interference.

Even ministers with a party bent cannot always get their way. Unfortunately the pressure on them from their followers is on the rise and their own scruples on the decline. Their success in side-stepping the rules, though only partial, is sufficiently great to cause appreciable demoralization in wide sections of the public service.

How do they manage to get their way? They appoint "advisers": they appoint deputies to existing section heads (on a temporary basis of course). All this can be done without tender. The Likud nominated a party man, Avraham Natan, as deputy civil service commissioner (the job was exempted from the tender re-

quirement just in time in 1982). He became civil service commissioner — a post in the gift of the government — in 1983.

The commissioner chairs the appointments committees. Under the circumstances it is less difficult than before to win a favourable vote for the minister's favoured candidate. So the deputy section head becomes the section head. (To be fair, the more egregious applicants are still generally turned down.)

Then there are the commercial attaches abroad. This brings us to one of the three ministries who are particularly unrestrained in doling out political plums: Arik Sharon, of Industry and Trade. The other two are David Levy of Housing and, most unpopular of all in his own ministry, Moshe Katsav of Labour.

Sharon divides the jobs within his sphere of authority into what he calls executive and public-service posts. To the important decision-making executive posts he does not usually appoint party nominees; but he makes free with the others. The positions which he sees as mainly honorific include commercial attaches and directorships on the boards of government companies. Men with no industrial experience or training for the task of attaché have been despatched to Milan (where the current holder is the son of Knesset member Meir Cohen-Avidov), New York, Brussels and Singapore.

Board membership is beginning to be something of a farce in all ministries throughout the public service. A personality in the housing field told me: "I am on the board of several government companies connected with housing. All contain Likudniks sitting as a reward for party loyalty. None of them has ever opened his mouth at a board meeting. They don't understand a balance-sheet. It is pathetic."

A good board is enormously helpful, but a well-run company with no problems can survive without it. Management are able to keep things going by themselves. But if things go wrong, the role of the board can become critical. Should a managing-director fail in his job, it has to decide whether to replace him.

"Government companies have a hard time competing as it is, because of the constraints they suffer. Appointing nobodies to the board weakens them further. The board becomes emasculated, and there are hurtful repercussions. Damage is done to the motivation of those employed in the company, hard-working people who are trying to make the enterprise profitable."

OTHER ministers succeed in infiltrating protégés into the heart and core of their departments, with depressing results. In the Labour Ministry good men are replaced by men of lesser abilities. Israel Meidan, an expert with an international reputation, was removed from the Productivity Institute. (Having the rank of director-general, he could be dismissed at the minister's whim.) His successor is a corridor politician from Herut, engineer Yosef Duriel.

Baruch Haklai, aged 56, heads the Employment Service with exceptional success. No one queries his abilities, enriched by long experience in the field. Katsav wants him out, to make way for David Mena, a party man who had previously been found a slot as assistant director-general in the National Insurance Institute.

Fortunately the party system itself has blocked Katsav's intentions this time. The Labour Alignment has threatened to fire a Herutnik from the Lands Administration if Haklai

is given the boot. So for the moment he stays, but the atmosphere in the labour exchange system, charged with placing 230,000 job-seekers a year, is not improved by these intrigues.

Haklai's spokesman, veteran Labour Ministry man Zalman Chen, was honest enough to tell newsmen that Haklai was being removed for party-political reasons and was fired. It was not difficult: Chen happened to be over retirement age.

The Employment Service had a directorate of three representing the government, the Histadrut and the employers respectively. This was a compact, effective committee. Israel Katz when labour minister added a fourth member from his party at the time, the Democratic Movement for Change. Katsav has added another two, both of them Herutniks. One of them makes sure that Likudniks get jobs where possible.

The policy enjoined by the authorities under the economic recovery programme is to reduce the numbers drawing pay from the public purse; which does not inhibit the politicians. The Labour and Welfare Ministry, a composite of two former ministries, has two research units, one inherited from Labour and the other from Social Welfare. Katsav has added a third, that of "scientific adviser": a post created for Gaby Dekel, brother of Knesset member Michael Dekel.

Two assistant-director grades exist in the Vocational Training Division. A third was added for Ya'acov Shapir of Herut. Marian Grissario was made adviser to the minister, while continuing to be treasurer of moshav Ganai Tikva. Edmond Moussafi, formerly head of the self-employed in Herut, became adviser to the minister but linked to the district office of the Employment Service for the Dan area, because that was where a slot was found.

The experienced in-house man scheduled to head the labour exchange in Netanya was set aside and a Herut man appointed instead.

In David Levy's Housing Ministry party men were conjured up to head district offices in Haifa, Tel Aviv, Galilee. Project Renewal opened new opportunities too. The tender procedure does not apply, so appointments could be made at the minister's discretion. Most horrendous is the recent attempt to "buy" a place for Avner Sarusi, as deputy director-general in the housing company Shikun ve Pituh, by granting benefits to the staff.

Yoram Paz was appointed head of the Traffic Licensing Office in Holon against the wish of Transport Minister Haim Coru, who tried to eject him in favour of another candidate. Paz's qualification was 26 years' service in the ministry. The other candidate's qualification was friendship with Mr. Coru. (They were gaoled together by the British in Exile during the last world war.) The Labour Court found for Paz. The minister is appealing.

SINNERS are not only in the Likud. What appeals old-timers in the service is that, to quote one of them, "the Likud are setting new norms. If that party puts in its men without any inhibition, the other party (Labour) has to do likewise to restore the balance." And Labour joins in this game not altogether reluctantly: it too has followers to nourish.

Known are Yitzhak Shamir's crackpot foreign-service appointments in New Zealand, Venezuela, Atlanta (Georgia) and elsewhere. Now Shimon Peres has taken over and is outdoing his predecessor. He has put in two directors-general, one from Labour and the other from

Ezer Weizman's party, Yehad. That makes two bureaux. He has created another three (making five), one for Nimrod Novick, one for Uri Savir, and one for dealing with his activities as deputy prime minister and head of the party.

This last office is manned by Baruch Askaroff and Aryeh Ofri, men whom the workers' committee in the ministry have blackballed: no one must deal with them. They do not belong to the ministry, the committee says, yet being inside may acquire a political role through the back door.

Add the bureau of Weizman, who would like to be minister of state for foreign affairs, yet has to content himself with being minister without portfolio (but situated in the Foreign Ministry), and you have quite a pressure on accommodation in the department's restricted premises.

THE BULK OF the civil service remains unchanged; nevertheless there are undercurrents of apprehension, resentment and confusion. Objective standards are being eroded and channels of command bedevilled. Next to a departmental head who was recruited through a rigorous method of selection and has worked his way up in the service, accumulating knowledge and experience on the way, stands a newcomer put into a specially created vacancy at the minister's whim, with no qualifications or experience, but with a line to party headquarters.

Who has the minister's ear, who is in charge? Authority is undermined. The prestige of the civil service, was built up slowly and painfully under a constant barrage of public criticism. Now all the good work is being undone. Attempts made over the years to base promotion on merit are frustrated. More important than hard work, it now emerges, is party membership.

Defenders of this change cite the American system of political patronage. Senior Israeli officials say the comparison is bunkum. If the government really wants political appointments, it should divide the public service in two, the political and the administrative.

Certain specified posts should be listed as political and a procedure established for appointments to them. There should be a proper selection procedure; the jobs should be granted for a contracted period of four years, which is the length of time between elections. That is what happens in the U.S.

All other posts should be left to the normal process of appointments and promotions. Anybody entering the civil service would then know what his functions are and what the responsibilities of any job he acquires. Above all he would be reassured that there is only one way to advancement, and that is through doing his job properly and working hard.

Some ministers are aware of that necessity. Moshe Nissim, when minister of justice suggested, in connection with appointments to the boards of government companies that a public committee headed by a retired judge be formed to vet all nominations. The idea lies mouldering in the files.

Everything is now subordinate to the battle for power that rages between the two equal-sized political blocs, led by Labour and Likud. If the civil service is allowed to go down the drain, the national unity government will be remembered not for its success in economic or foreign affairs, but for the grievous damage it will have done to the conduct of the public administration in Israel.

"DON'T YOU hate this?" I asked the woman standing behind me. I didn't know her, but I often find myself speaking to people I don't know while standing in the inevitable line at the bank. Besides, she had made first contact, asking me if I were last.

She was short, hunched forward slightly, and she was staring straight ahead at the backs of the people before her. One hand rested atop a black cane and the other clutched the strap of her pocketbook. Her head was covered with a kerchief

that nearly matched the colour of the print in her dress and her stockings gathered at the tops of her sturdy black shoes.

When she looked up at me and didn't respond, I repeated my question.

"Don't you hate having to wait so long just to make a simple transaction?"

She smiled. "Where are you from?" she asked. "England? America?"

I answered, and she smiled again and nodded. "Ah," she said. "You

## Waiting...

Andrew Alt

are lucky. In America you wait for nothing.

"That's not true," I said. "There are a lot of things that you have to wait for."

"Such as?"

"The only things I could think of off-hand were parking spots, but I didn't say this."

"Let me tell you something," she said. "My grandson has been waiting for a telephone to be put in his apartment. Do you know how long? Four years. For four years he has used a public telephone in the street near his building. And when it's not working, well..."

"That's terrible," I said.

She raised her eyebrows and her arms, lifting her cane off the floor, and shrugged. "What's to be done? Some have been waiting longer."

The line advanced a few paces.

"I'll tell you something else," my friend said when we were again set.

"When I came to this country, I had to wait nearly three months before I received a place to live. That was in the summer of 1946, and many of us came over then. They had nowhere to put us all."

"When I arrived, they gave me a bed in a room with four other young women. It was here, in Tel Aviv, in an old building downtown. Every

room was as ours, filled with new immigrants. There was a hostel, built just for the immigrants, but the government needed it in the end for a hospital."

"The Jewish Agency found me a job sewing for a tailor. He gave me three-quarters of an hour for lunch, and this I would spend in line at the Agency's office, eating while I waited for my turn to ask if maybe they had found a place for me yet. Every day for three months I waited in line, and every day when I reached the desk the man would shake his head and I would go back to work."

"How frustrating that must have been," I sounded silly when I said it, but I felt embarrassed and as if I had to say something.

"I didn't mind it so much," she said.

I shook my head. "Why? Why ever not?"

"For a year before, I had been waiting to come to Palestine in a detention camp run by the English."

She paused, and then seemingly decided to spare me an account of what had gone before. A smile barely brushed the corners of her mouth and eyes. "Then, it was still Palestine, and I didn't dare even to dream that the land might someday be ours. I knew it would be very difficult, as I

had no friends or family there, but I knew it was the best place to be. And because I wanted so badly to come, the time passed very slowly."

"It was while I was there that a woman, Hannah, taught me to sew well. We would take apart old garments that could no longer be mended and fashion them into new ones, using needles and thread that the English soldiers would sometimes give to us. Always the thread was green, and always it showed where we would build a seam or stitch a hem. But it didn't matter so much because rarely did we have enough of one fabric to form a garment, except perhaps a child's shirt or dress. It was important only that there were things to wear, not how they looked."

"I lived in a hut which had been raised in two days. I with nineteen other girls and women. When the rains came, the roof leaked above where I slept, and all through the winter I was sick. There was no space to move the bed, and I wouldn't think of sleeping on the floor, because of the rats. And, oh," she said, tilting back her head and closing her eyes, "the time passed as if one were watching one's fingernails grow."

The woman ahead of me stepped up to one of the windows. I hadn't noticed the progress we'd been making.

"How long have you been here?" the woman behind me asked.

"About six months," I said.

She laughed. It was a nice laugh. "I mean here, at the bank."

"Oh," I said, I looked at the clock on the wall. "About twenty minutes."

As I said it, I understood how ridiculous it seemed that I had been perturbed by the prospect of waiting for twenty minutes in a line at the bank.

I tried to express this thought to her, and she smiled and nodded as though I'd answered correctly on a quiz. I asked, how could she stand waiting for a year to be freed from the circumstances she had described.

"It taught me how to wait," she said.

A space cleared in front of one of the tellers. I took the spot, handed over my book of traveller's cheques and started to sign my passport before I recognized my error. I looked back at the woman, waiting for her turn at the head of the line, holding her pocketbook and her cane. The teller said something.

I looked back at the young face gazing up at me.

"What?" I asked.

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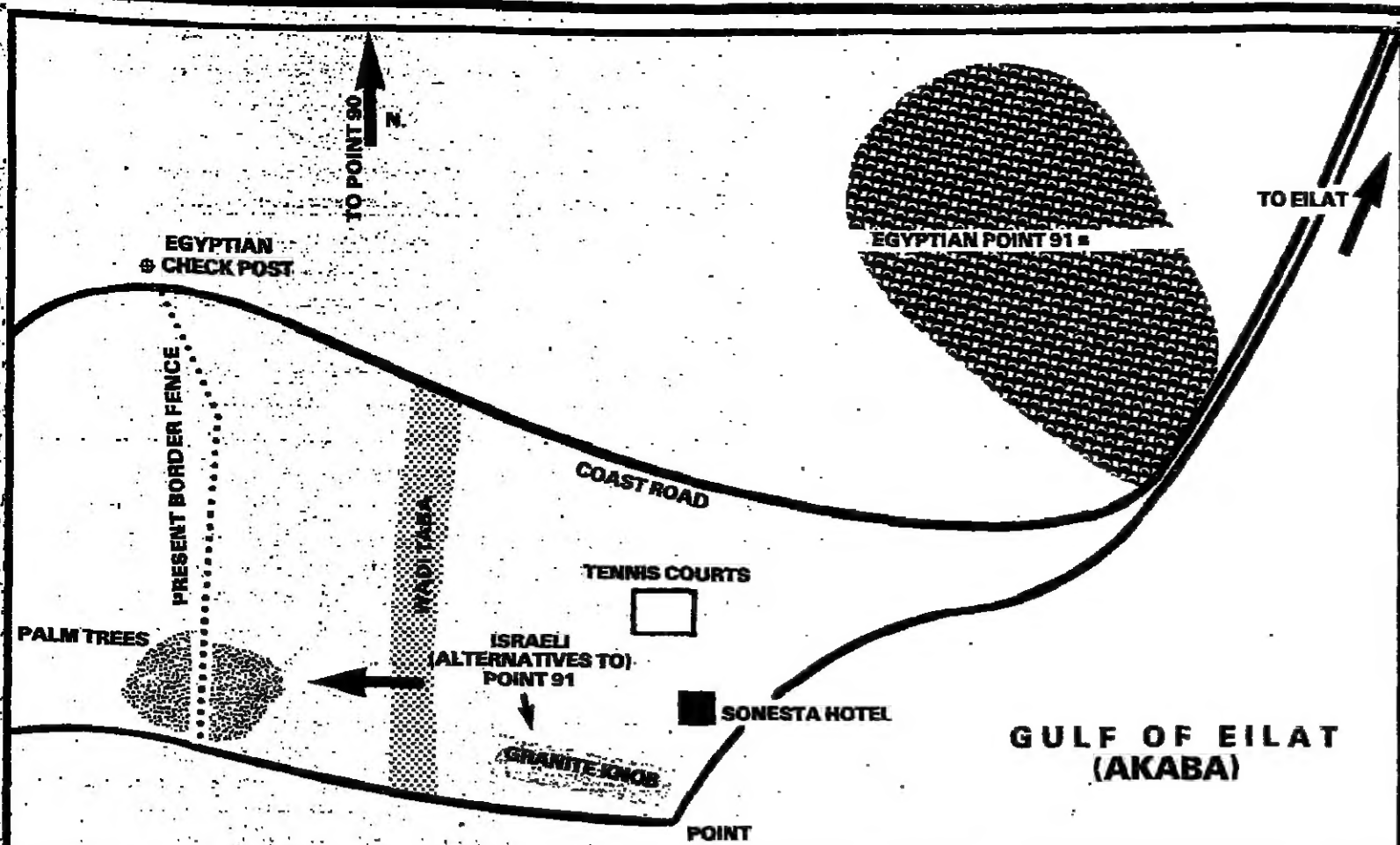
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The map above outlines the Israeli and Egyptian territorial claims at Taba. Israel's claim is that the border should run from point 90 in a direct line down to either the palm trees or to the "granite knob," leaving the hotel in Israel. Egypt's claim is that the border should run in a direct line from point 90 to the hilltop site it claims is point 91, leaving the hotel and environs in Egypt.

## Israel's case for Taba

Benny Morris

THE INTERNATIONAL arbitration panel is to convene in Geneva on December 8 to begin the proceedings to decide who will be sovereign over Taba and 13 other (significant) disputed border areas between Israel and Egypt. The focus is on Taba. Both countries have good cases.

The dispute over Taba boils down to the accurate location of border point 91, the southernmost demarcation point along the Israeli-Egyptian border, which runs from Rafah to the Gulf of Eilat or Akaba.

Sometime during the Mandate, British officials put up small pillars at 91 points to demarcate the frontier between Palestine and Egypt. The pillars were placed (or so the officials responsible believed) in conformity with the demarcation of the international frontier as set out in the Egyptian-Ottoman agreement of 1906, the only detailed border demarcation between the two countries ever carried out. Some of these pillars still exist.

The agreement was signed and exchanged at Rafah on October 1, 1906, "between the Commissioners of the Turkish Sultanate and the Commissioners of the Egyptian Khedivate, concerning the fixing of a Separating Administrative Line between the Vilayet of Hejaz and Governorate of Jerusalem and the Sinai Peninsula." Article I, having defined the Separating Administrative Line as beginning at the point of Ras Taba and proceeding along the eastern ridge overlooking Wadi Taba, then stipulated that "boundary pillars" be erected "at intervals of points" along the Separating Line, "from the point on the Mediterranean shore to the point on the shore of the Gulf of Akaba."

In the *compromis*, the Israeli-Egyptian document signed on September 11 setting out the terms of reference of the arbitration, the tribunal "is requested to decide the location of the boundary pillars of the recognized international boundary between Egypt and the former mandated territory of Palestine," in accordance with the Israel-Egypt

peace treaty of 1979, the agreement of April 25, 1982, on how to resolve disputes between the two countries, and the Annex of the *compromis*.

EGYPT ASSERTS that point 91 is located at the crest of a chain of hills several hundred metres northeast of the Taba Sonesta Hotel (see above map). If the border were to run in a straight line from point 90, which is not in dispute, down to the Egyptian location of point 91, then the whole area of Taba would lie south of the Israeli-Egyptian frontier. That is, in Egyptian hands.

Israel claims that point 91 should be sited either among the palm trees just west of Wadi Taba or, alternatively, on the "granite knob" or hilltop to the east, just west of the hotel. A line running from point 90 to the "knob" would leave the hotel and its grounds under Israeli sovereignty. Locating point 91 at the palm trees would leave both the hotel and all of Taba's beachfront in Israeli hands.

Egypt's claim to Taba rests on the existence of what it holds are the concrete remains of a pillar marking point 91 on top of the hill northeast of the hotel; on British Mandate maps, the Israeli-Egyptian 1949 General Armistice maps, and Israeli Survey Department maps, which all show Taba as lying south of the border; and on the fact that the IDF, withdrawing from Sinai in 1957 after the Sinai Campaign, also evacuated the Taba area and set the border around the Egyptian point 91.

The Egyptians will argue in Geneva, therefore, that the weight of recent understanding and of custom locates the border where Egypt claims it should run. Israel's case, Egypt will argue, rests on dragging the arbitrators back 80 years to the 1906 Egyptian-Ottoman border agreement and other evidence from almost a century ago.

ISRAEL'S CASE is multi-tiered. It rests in great measure on the phraseology of Article II of the *compromis*, which stipulates that the arbitrators must determine the location of the pillars of the boundary



Photograph of a Turkish Fort at the palm trees in Taba (taken in 1909), indicating, according to the Israeli team, that Ottoman Palestine stretched west as far as the palms before World War I.

between Egypt and Palestine "in accordance with the Peace Treaty... and the Annex." Clause 2 of the Annex states: "... For the final boundary pillar No. 91, which is at the point of Ras Taba on the Western shore of the Gulf of Akaba."

The *compromis*, at Israel's insistence, states in Article III that "each party will be entitled to submit to the Tribunal any evidence which that party considers relevant to the question... [and] the Tribunal will review all documents and other evidence submitted to it."

The parties to the Peace Treaty agreed on a border based on the 1949 General Armistice maps but on the Mandatory line. During the Mandate, the British declared that the border between Palestine and Egypt was that agreed upon in the 1906 agreement.

Israel has a collection of pre-World War I maps - mostly German and Turkish - that show the 1906 demarcation line as running from point 90 not to what Egypt alleges to be point 91 but down Wadi Taba. This argues that the British during the Mandate did not necessarily place the border-marking pillars accurately and in conformity with the border as demarcated in 1906. That demarcation takes precedence over subsequent, possibly mistaken, pillar placements.

Moreover, Israel asserts, the Egyptians' point 91 is not "intervisible" with point 90, whereas both the "palm trees" and the "granite knob" - where Israel says point 91 lies - are intervisible with point 90. (The Egyptians will rebut this by saying that the British, when putting up the pillars during the Mandate, mistakenly ignored the 1906 intervisibility clause and should have placed the point 91 pillar on the same hill but a little to the east or north.)

LASTLY, the *compromis* refers to the border as starting (or ending) - at

point 91 - at "the point of Ras Taba" in line with the 1906 definition. The only geographical configuration along the shoreline that would conform to this definition, according to Israel, is the point south of, and adjoining, the "granite knob." (This definition, it should be noted, also undermines Israel's alternative "maximalist" claim that point 91 should be located among the "palm trees.")

Israel also has up its sleeve some legal "rabbit" - including Egyptian sources that describe the contours of the border in a way that buttresses the Israeli rather than the Egyptian claim. Israeli officials are naturally unwilling to lay out all their cards publicly (though one piece of official Egyptian evidence I was shown looked pretty impressive).

It is possible that Israel hopes that once the Egyptians are apprised of the strength of the Israeli case, they may be amenable to some sort of compromise arrangement. Article IX of the *compromis* specifically provides for the possibility of such a compromise, stating that "a three-member chamber of the Tribunal [the two national members of the panel and its president] shall explore the possibilities of a settlement of the dispute... The arbitration process shall terminate in the event the parties jointly inform the Tribunal in writing that they have decided to accept the recommendations of the chamber..."

Should no compromise emerge, the Tribunal will go through the extended proceedings, which are expected to last between one and two years, passing through memorials, counter-memorials, rejoinders and oral hearings, culminating in a "grand tour" of the disputed area by the Tribunal and in the award, which need only be by majority vote. Both sides must bow to the arbitrators' decision and implement it "as quickly as possible and in good faith."

## North American Jews look at themselves

Walter Ruby/New York

Anyone wanting to understand the concerns and priorities of the organized North American Jewish community in 1986 should examine the issues which came to the fore at the just ended 55th annual general assembly of the council of Jewish Federations - as well as the issues which did not emerge.

The theme of the GA was "Klal Yisrael-Federation's Role In Building Community," and from the opening keynote address by CJE President Shoshana Cardin to a closing address by Rabbi Harold Schulweis four days later, the emphasis at the Chicago meeting was on accentuating the unity of the various streams of Judaism in this country.

In her speech, Cardin called on the federation movement to carry out "the mitzva of building community," and urged the tuning down of what she called "shrill and strident discourse" emanating over the last several years from the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbinate.

Schulweis, a Conservative rabbi from southern California who is best known for encouraging the creation of more than 70 *havurot* within his large synagogue in the San Fernando Valley, gave two eloquent addresses at the GA, urging Jews to get in touch with "the anger in us... the long repressed... long festering rage... against Jewish impotence," which he warned, is today "being turned inward."

Schulweis added, "The division is no longer between 'them' and 'us,' but 'within us,' and with the anger come restrictive definitions, and definitions... USY (Conservative Jewish youth), Nity (Reform Jewish youth), and NCSY (Orthodox Jewish youth) do not fraternize. They do not sing, dance, play or pray together. They claim common festivals and fasts, but they perform no Jewish liturgy, oratorios, no drama, no poetry, dance - neither Succot nor Yom Atzmaut - together."

Schulweis made a plea for increased tolerance and understanding among the three denominations and for North American Jewry not to reject modern secular society out of anger at non-Jewish acquiescence in the destruction of European Jewry during the Holocaust.

He also called upon world Jewry to make a greater effort to reach out and do more to aid "righteous gentiles" who helped save Jews during the Holocaust. Noting that many of these people are now aged, infirm, and living in poor conditions, Schulweis commented, "Z'chor is the Jewish imperative to remember. Not only the evil, but the good... We are obligated to help those remaining altruists, many of whom lead impoverished lives, pariahs of their own societies, where they are regarded not as heroes, but as traitorous 'Jew lovers.'"

WHILE Schulweis mesmerized the 3,100 delegates with his clarion call for unity and compassion, it was noteworthy that more immediate "world issues of concern for Israel and American Jewry" went unmentioned in his speech, and in the hundreds of speeches and workshops during the five-day Chicago extravaganza, which included speeches by Vice President George Bush, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens, Jewish Agency Chairman Leon Dutzin, Nathan Sharansky (by satellite), and nearly all of the top leaders of American Jewish organizational life.

There were no discussions, speeches or seminars on the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. There was no mention during any of the speeches and seminars of the arms sales to Iran, or on the alleged Israeli involvement in those arms shipments. There was no talk of the Mossad's capture of Mordechai Vanunu, or of the recent Israeli expulsion order against Palestinian journalist Akram Haniye.

Asked about the curious failure of the sensational Iranian arms revelations to at least become a topic of discussion at the GA, Schulweis commented: "It's great to be as successful as (Israel and the Jews) have become, but I would not have wanted Israel to end up playing the role of Hessian mercenaries of the West - supplying arms to Iran and

South Africa. Traditional Jews have not criticized that kind of politicization of Israel. They have avoided a moral critique, but instead have emphasized ritual purity."

While criticizing what he termed "this moral failure," Schulweis declined to condemn the organized American Jewish community for failing to agonize over the moral implications of the Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza.

"I don't think this is due to moral callousness," he said, "but rather a half-conscious recognition of an immediate threat (by the Arabs to Israel)... This is undoubtedly a moral issue, but you have to be a moral *mefukak* to deal with it. The fact that many (Palestinian leaders who were willing to talk to Israel) were shot gives credence to those who say 'find me the counterparts.' The Arabs are their own worst enemies."

SCHULWEIS said that American Jews "are an extremely fearful people as well as an extremely fearful of the surface of well-being... they are very fearful and insecure. For American Jews, Israel is a projection of their little bit of security built on top of a (far greater) insecurity, and given that (mindset) they are not going to be interested in hearing about the problems of the Arabs."

He said that the emphasis on Klal Yisrael at the conference was concrete evidence that for American Jews, "there has been a change from external threats to internal threats. In a world with lessened anti-Semitism, the mirror is held up to you and you are asked, 'What are you anyway, beyond being an anti-Semite? I think the fear and anger is often used as an alibi to escape the interior Jewish self. We are rightly impressed by the courage and strength of the refuseniks... but in America, without the totalitarian pressure there is an internal softness (in American Jewry).'"

Schulweis, however, was careful not to include the federation movement in his generalized criticism of American Jewry. Asked whether he is troubled by the penchant of the federation-United Jewish Appeal campaign in one corner of the country to proclaim as "leaders" the people who give the largest donations, and to spend a great deal of time giving out awards to large contributors, Schulweis responded, "That problem exists in the synagogues as well, and in virtually every other Jewish institution. I have taken a much less jaundiced point of view, as it tends to

be people who don't have that kind of money who say those kind of things. A man who is willing to tithe a good part of his wealth is displaying tremendous responsibility, and a tremendous culture of the heart."

TOGETHER with Schulweis, the other conquering rabbinic hero of the conference was Rabbi Irving "Yitz" Greenberg, an eclectic modern Orthodox rabbi, whose article "Will There Be One Jewish People in the Year 2000?" published last year in Jewish newspapers across America, raised the question as to whether Judaism could survive as a single entity despite fundamental disagreements between the denominations over issues like patrilineal descent, "Who is a Jew," and divorce. The article clearly played a significant role in building the "Klal Yisrael" wave within the CJE and the federation movement.

Greenberg, who is viewed with varying degrees of suspicion and disapproval throughout much of American Orthodoxy, has pressed the idea of giving laymen a greater role in facilitating discussion on issues of contention between the denominations and in effecting better communication. His triumph at the CJE appeared likely to be translated into increased federation backing for Greenberg's organization Clal (National Jewish Coalition for Learning and Leadership) which recently received a \$1 million grant from a Reconstructionist lay leader to promote a new program known as "Am Ahad."

According to Greenberg, "The key is that every Jew in every movement has to develop a sense of klal yisrael, so that as deeply rooted as we may be in our own traditions... there should be a willingness to be critical of ourselves for the sake of the total community..."

Greenberg said that a resolution passed by the CJE warning Israel of the "divisive impact" of changing the Law of Return represented "the beginning of wisdom by CJE and the federations to face up to a problem that will not go away. American Jews have to make clear to Israel that the liberal constituency of American Jewry is also a partner in Israel. I think Orthodox itself will be a great beneficiary when pluralism finally comes to Israel, because I think that when people have a right to choose freely, people will discover the true depth of the tradition."

Greenberg was asked if his close alliance with the federations does

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Are women worthy of being taught Tora or are they too frivolous? Rabbi Shlomo Goren considers the different approaches of Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

## The status of women in Jewish law

WOMEN have always enjoyed a high status among the Jewish people. Already during the period of the Patriarchs, women had a superior position within the home, as found in the story of Sarah, when God told Abraham: "Everything that Sarah says unto you, obey her voice."

Among the 48 prophets were seven women, as enumerated in the Babylonian Talmud (*Megilla*, 14a). The Midrash tells us that just as there were 600,000 prophets who served Israel, so too there were 600,000 prophetesses. The calibre of the prophetess at times exceeded that of the prophet, as can be deduced from the second book of Kings (22, 14), where King Josiah sent the following request to Huldah the prophetess: "Go beseech God for me, the nation and all of Judah..."

As this was the period of the prophet Jeremiah, the Talmud (22, 14b) inquires as to why Josiah forsook Jeremiah and approached Huldah. The answer proposed was that women were more compassionate. From this biblical account, it also appears that Huldah taught the Oral Law to the elders of that generation and revealed to them the secrets of the Tora.

An opinion in the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 62a) states that women constitute a nation unto themselves. This approach grants women universal freedom and an independent standing within society.

In opposition to this view, Maimonides negated all positions of command from women. In his formulation of the following law in his *Mishne Tora* (*Meilah*, 1:1): "No woman is eligible to head the state for it is written: 'You shall surely set a king over yourselves.'—a king, not a queen." In the same way, he said, "whatever the office for which an

appointment is made, only a man is qualified to hold it."

This viewpoint is indeed puzzling in light of the historical facts that women were both judges or queens with complete monarchical powers. The fact that Deborah, who led Israel, was also a prophetess proves that her being a judge was in accordance with the Tora and Jewish Law.

Similarly, upon the death of King Yammal (103 BCE), his wife Alexandra was crowned queen with exclusive monarchical powers. Her brother, Rabbi Simon ben Shattah, the head of the Sanhedrin, and the other Pharisaic sages, acknowledged the coronation and vigorously supported the queen and her reign. Now, if the reign of a queen was contrary to the Jewish Law, the sages of Israel and the members of the Sanhedrin would not have reached an agreement with her, nor grant her sweeping powers (Josephus, *The Jewish Wars*, 1, 5).

MAIMONIDES'S deprivation of women of any appointed office has no Talmudic basis at all. On the contrary, from the verse "And these were the laws you shall place before them" (*Kiddushin*, 35a), the sages derived the complete equality of the sexes with respect to all the laws in the Tora.

Also from this passage the medieval Franco-German scholars (Tosaphot) concluded that a woman may serve as a judge (*Gittin*, 88b; *Baba Kama*, 15a; *Shevuot*, 29b; *Nidda*, 50a, and Tosaphot). However, this opinion is unique and does not constitute the accepted law, for the Jerusalem Talmud explicitly declares that a woman may not be a judge, and this is the clearest decision in the *Shulhan Aruch* (*Hoshen Mishpat*, 7, 4).

Furthermore, according to all au-

thorities, women may not bear testimony, as stated in the Mishna (*Shevuot*, 4, 1). Maimonides (*Edut*, 9) mentions 10 people who are disqualified from giving testimony, with women leading the list, and the *Shulhan Aruch* (*Hoshen Mishpat*, 35, 14) follows suit.

Nonetheless, the Rama, representing the North European (Ashkenazi) tradition, notes that it is an ancient regulation to accept the testimony of women in cases where men are not familiar with the subject matter; and moreover, in certain circumstances even a solitary woman is to be believed.

The Tosaphot were of the opinion that even according to the Jerusalem Talmud, which declared women ineligible to be judges, the community may agree to appoint a woman to serve as a judge. Accordingly, Deborah was elected a judge through the agreement of the nation. Hence, should any community willingly accept a female judge, the position is valid and completely complies with the Halacha.

Moreover, it is derived from the Tosaphot that a wise woman who is erudite in the law may instruct the community and teach them the laws of the Tora. Likewise, the 13th-century *Book of Education* (152) affirmed that a scholarly woman may instruct and direct the community, and this view is recorded in *Pithei Teshuva* (*Hoshen Mishpat*, 6, 5).

Undeniably, the *Tanna Devei Eliyahu* declared that "women have a frivolous state of mind" and consequently cannot be relied upon to offer evidence. This statement is also quoted in the Babylonian Talmud (*Shabbat*, 33b).

However, this declaration applies only in cases of duress, where a woman's life is in peril or where there is strong sexual incitement (as

explained in *Kiddushin*, 80a). In any event, under normal circumstances women are to be believed, and at times even more than men, as demonstrated by the case of Raba (*Ketubot*, 85a), who accepted the testimony of Rav Hada's daughter.

THE ATTITUDE towards women was not standard among the rabbis even during the Second Temple period. For example, one may cite the disagreement among the first century CE sages concerning the teaching of Tora to girls. Ben-Azzai's point of view was that the sexes were equal in the commandment of learning Tora, and he obligated a person to teach his daughter Tora.

Rabbi Eliezer (Ben-Hyrcanus) the Great opposed him and proclaimed that teaching Tora to one's daughter was equivalent to teaching her lechery (*Sota*, 3, 4). In the Jerusalem Talmud, Rabbi Eliezer expressed himself in an even sharper form by saying: "Let the words of Tora be burned rather than be handed over to women."

Among medieval rabbis there was a clear dichotomy between North European (Ashkenazi) scholars and their Spanish-Oriental (Sephardi) counterparts. As much as possible, the Ashkenazi sages undertook to grant equal rights to women. The culmination of these efforts was the great historical ordinances initiated by Rabbi Gershom, who was known as the Light of the Exile, in the 10th century when he was head of the Mayence (Mainz) community.

He instituted the prohibition of polygamy (which the Tora permits) and the prohibition of divorcing one's wife against her will, thereby solving the problems caused by changing times. Since the Halacha did not grant this privilege to

women, Rabbi Gershom employed the authority of the community to legislate regulations and to excommunicate offenders.

Rabbi Gershom's actions changed the form of family life in Europe and granted women almost equal status. These regulations were the emancipation declaration for Jewish women in most European communities. They have had widespread influence on other laws concerning women's rights in the family, such as allotments of food, clothing and shelter, the ownership and holding of property, and equal say in any disagreement between husband and wife.

THE SEPHARDI sages, on the other hand, did not join in adopting the ordinances of Rabbi Gershom, and continued to deprive wives of their rights.

This phenomenon is found in Maimonides's works. Despite his great wisdom, erudition in the sciences and knowledge of Greek philosophy, he remained firm in his allegiance to the Oriental practice of discrimination against women in society.

For example, Maimonides wrote (*Ishut*, 21, 9): "Any woman who refuses to perform any of the labour she is obligated to do, can be forced to do it even by the whip."

This formulation aroused the wrath of Maimonides's great opponent, Rabah (Rabbi Abraham Ben-David), who critically noted: "I have never heard of chastising women with whips; rather, one decreases her needs and financial support until she succumbs."

On the other hand, Maimonides granted privileges to wives, even if they rebelled against their husbands. "If she says her husband is repulsive in her eyes, the husband is forced to divorce her, for she is not a prisoner to have intercourse with a person she hates," (*Ishut*, 14, 8). This is contrary to the European practice that did not force the husband to divorce a wife upon a claim of "repulsiveness." In addition, Maimonides required a man to honour his wife more than himself and to love her as himself (*Ishut*, 15, 15).

Be that as it may, Maimonides formulated the supremacy and complete mastery of the husband over the wife when he wrote: "Similarly, [the sages] commanded a woman to exceedingly honour her husband, to fear him, and all her actions must have his approval. He should be in her eyes as a minister or a king, according to his desires and remove all things that he hates. And this is the way of the holy and pure daughters and sons of Israel in their marriages."

Maimonides's views illustrate the severe Oriental attitude towards women during his time, an attitude that reflected the extreme interpretation of the curse of Eve: "And he shall rule over you" (Genesis, 3, 16).

THIS ORIENTAL approach appears in Maimonides's expression of the right of free pasture and recreation of a wife (*Ishut*, 13, 11): "Every wife may leave the home to visit her parents, a mourner, or to attend a festive event, to do kindness to a friend or relative so that they reciprocate—for she is not in a prison that she may not go or come."

"But it is degrading for a woman to continually go at times outside and at times be in the street, and the husband should restrain her from this. He should only allow her to go out once or twice a month, for the only splendour for a woman is to sit in her corner of the house. As it is written: 'The King's daughter is all glorious within' (Psalms, 45, 14)."

This attitude never existed among Ashkenazi Jewry, for together with man's general struggle for freedom, women also attained this freedom through the ordinances of Rabbi Gershom. Even though these regulations expired at the end of the 11th millennium, they still serve as the corner-stone of family life in Israel, and through the integration and fusion of the exiles, they also apply to Sephardi Jews in Israel.

## When a sacrifice is a profanity

TORA TODAY/Pinhas H. Peli

The Tora reading for this week is va-yeira (Genesis 15:1-22:24).

THE AKEDA, the binding of Isaac on the altar (Genesis 22:1-19) has been an outstanding milestone in Jewish thought, liturgy and creative imagination from the day it was written to our own day. It served as a perfect identification model of unconditional faith and of martyrology. From the earliest instances of recorded martyrdom in Maccabean times (i.e. Hannah and her seven sons) to acts of *kidush ha-shem* (sanctification of the Name) during the recent Holocaust, the protagonists referred constantly to Abraham and Isaac on Mount Moriah.

It was pointed out, that the *beit ha-mikdash* (the Holy Temple), was built not on Mount Sinai, where the Tora was given to all of Israel, but on another mountain, Mount Moriah, where one of the ancestors of Israel was ready to offer his child to God and another stretched out his neck, offering himself as a sacrifice.

A study of Jewish classical sources of the akeda story will teach us that the story recited daily in Jewish prayer and read solemnly in the synagogue was not always received with pietistic equanimity. As it fired the imagination to admire its expressions of perfect faith and readiness to offer one's life for the sake of God, proving that there are "things in life which are more precious than life itself," it also stirred many hard questions and doubts.

The rabbis of the midrash tried to penetrate the mystique of the akeda in their role as interpreters, and sometimes in their traditional position of "his majesty's loyal opposition" to Tora. They did not sweep under the carpet the many questions that come to mind while reading the story. The questions were not always articulated but were often implicit in the answers.

The novel interpretations of the akeda start with the introductory remark which precedes the story in Scripture: "And it came to pass after these things and God put Abraham to a test..." This introduction suggests that there was a close connection between the things that happened prior to the akeda and God's initiative in putting Abraham to a test. What were "these things"?

According to one interpretation, the test of the akeda came about as a result of satanic rebuke and accusations. "These things" refers to the *lavish* party Abraham and Sarah threw in marking the weaning of Isaac (21:8). Whereupon Satan came and complained to God: "Look at this old man, your friend Abraham. At the age of a hundred years you granted him a son. Now he celebrated the occasion with a great banquet, but did not think of offering you anything at all. God took Abraham's side and replied: 'Didn't he make the banquet in honour of his son? Were I to tell him to offer me his son, he would surely not refuse!'" "And God tested Abraham..." The test was thus not an original idea of God, but prompted in response to some satanic argument.

Another interpretation introduces an argument between Ishmael and Isaac. According to this interpretation, *ahar ha-avram ha-alek* would mean "following these things," but "following these words." [The Hebrew *davar* means both thing and word].

Which words? Those exchanged between the two brothers. Ishmael boasted to Isaac that he allowed himself to be circumcised when he was 13 years old, whereas Isaac had been circumcised as an infant, and could not protest (this is no doubt a reflection of an ongoing argument regarding the Islamic and Jewish rites of circumcision). Isaac retorted: "Even if God told me to sacrifice myself I would not protest!" The exchange of "these words" is followed with the story of the akeda. Again, this is one more interpretation which sees the akeda not as an original idea of God, but as something which humans brought on themselves.

THE FACT that the rabbis offer these and other similar interpretations proves that they were not happy with the akeda as a *bona fide* way of a desirable relationship between God and his faithful friend. Was not God aware of Abraham's fidelity, why did he have to put him to a test? Furthermore, doesn't the Omnipotent God know *a priori* the outcome of a test?

These questions lead some of the rabbis to translate the words *ve-haelokim nissa et avraham* in another

way than the usual, and Godb "tested," or "tried" Abraham. They read instead "God punished Abraham." The akeda is thus not a highly acclaimed religious act, but rather an acclaimed punishment. Why did Abraham deserve to be punished? Best cause of "these things" which immediately preceded the story of the akeda, namely, the covenant he made with Abimelech. According to this view, God would certainly enno courage peace between Abraham and his neighbours, but Abraham had no right to sign a peace-treaty which would give away territories which were promised to his own children. This act angered God and as a result he punished Abraham saying "you give up a piece of thy land because you wish your children to live in peace and not have to fight for the land; now you will have no children!"

Again, not liking the idea of the "test" that Abraham was to go through, some Jewish commentators interpreted "ve-haelokim nissa" as usually translated "tested," or "tried", as associated with the word *nasa*, a banner. The purpose of the akeda was not to test Abraham, whether he will or will not obey the order of God, but to raise him up as a banner for all the nations of the world to behold and see how strong is the faith of Abraham.

Neither God nor Abraham needs this test, for they disliked the idea (as the end proves) of human sacrifice as a way of worshipping God. It was ordered, however, to serve a double purpose: to impress the gentile world (which was used at that time to the idea that human sacrifices are the highest form of worship) that Abraham was also capable of offering his child to God. Yet, he would not, however, do it because God is really against this cruel form of worship.

Rabbinic disapproval of the akeda as a human sacrifice to God is not only implicit in their interpretations of various parts of the story, but is also stated explicitly and clearly. They dare group the akeda with other cases of undesirable human sacrifice mentioned in the Bible. Thus, they interpret the verse in Jeremiah (19:5) which talks about building shrines "in which they burn their sons as whole-offerings to Baal" to include also the akeda of Isaac. "It was no command of mine," the prophet quotes God, "I never spoke of it; it never entered my thought..." "It was no command of mine," the rabbis (TB *Sanit* 2a) say, refers to Measha the king of Moab who sacrificed his son; "I never spoke of it" refers to Jephthah offering his daughter, while "it never entered my thought" refers to Isaac the son of Abraham.

How could God call on Abraham to perform something which "never entered his thought" and which he really never wanted him to do? What then was the purpose of the call?

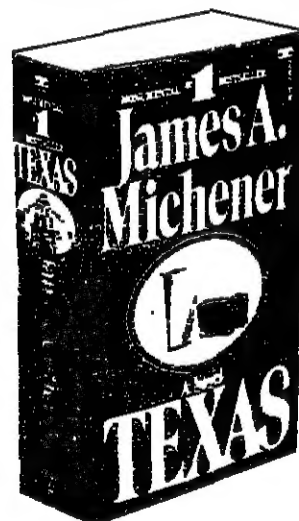
It is possible that the "test" with which God tested Abraham was altogether different than the one which we are accustomed to consider. It was to test how far Abraham understood what was the true relationship between humans and God. Biblical religion came to teach us that we do not have to give up our humanity in order to serve God. On the contrary, we are expected to confront God in all our human dignity which He gave us. Abraham's reply to the call of God with *hineni* "here I am!", is no doubt a great lesson in the history of religion and a major step forward from Adam's and Cain's hiding from God; but 2,000 years later, Abraham was expected, as he did in the case of Sodom and Geniza, to stand up and voice his opposition to the order, not question its justification. He did not do that. Abraham failed the test this time. Was it perhaps because his own beloved son's life was involved that he felt intimidated, lest he be misled by biased subjectivity?

Later on, after Abraham was warned (and the angel could barely stop him from completing the sacrificial act) not to kill the lad, he came to God, asking why he had to go through this awful ordeal. According to one midrash, God replied that Abraham's understanding of the event was wrong from the start, and was based on a mistaken perception of the original order. Abraham should have tried to find out, the midrash argues, what God wanted of him and not follow blindly.

These midrashic interpretations notwithstanding, the akeda remained as a supreme act of faith and an example of martyrdom counted among the highest rungs of the ladder connecting heaven to earth.

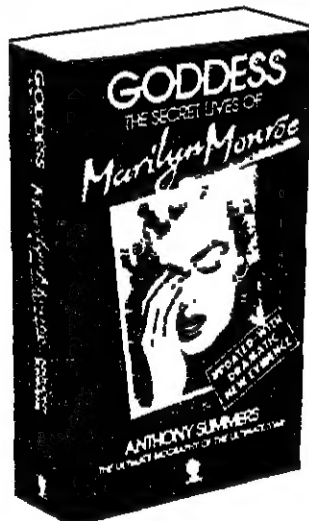
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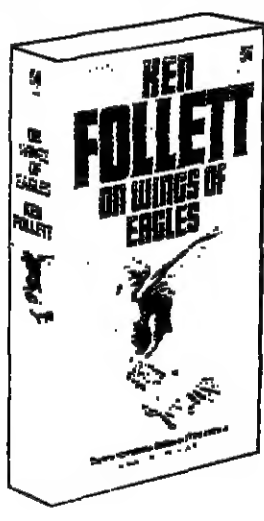
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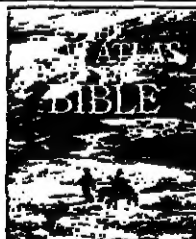
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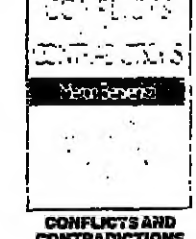
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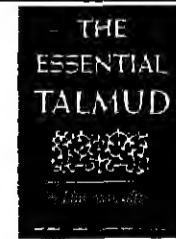
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Ya'acov Friedler

THE MOSLEM leadership in Israel has failed to attract students to the Islam clerics training school in Acre, which the government said two years ago could be reopened. The school was closed in 1948.

The kadi of Acre, Mohammed Hubeishi, told the press this week that the leadership would continue to try to attract students to the school at the El Jazzar Mosque. But only three candidates had registered for the current year, despite the offer of a \$250 grant.

He believed this was because the candidates preferred to study at established schools in Jerusalem and the West Bank, rather than relying on a new one.

"But we have not despaired and will make another try to open it next year," he said.

He noted that five candidates who had gone to Cairo in 1982 to study at the famed El-Azhar religious university, following a pledge he had received from the late President Sadat during his visit to Haifa, had been sent back after a month when the Egyptians returned their ambas-

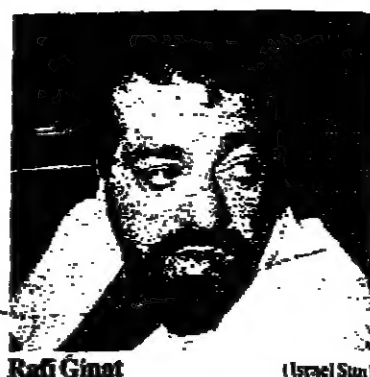
sador following the outbreak of the Lebanon War. No further permission for students had been received since.

Asked to clarify the stand of the Moslem religion on the problem of organ transplants, Hubeishi, who is a member of the supreme religious appeal court, said Islam was "liberal" on the issue, based on the Koran principle of "need permits the forbidden" and the prophet Mohammed's injunction to clerics to "make things easy not difficult." Moslems or members of other religions were allowed transplants to save life.



# Ginat's ego spoils show

Wim Van Leer



Rafi Ginat (Israel Sun)

THE FIRST episode of Israeli Television's "help the police" *Crime Investigation* has come and gone. It is still too early to judge how far the results have justified the effort. That can only be done after the criminals have been caught, tried and convicted as a result of information generated by the programme.

However, an interim evaluation, in the light of the methods used and the results obtained abroad where programmes of a similar nature have been running for more than two decades, can be made.

But first, the history of last week's broadcast may be of interest.

Since I have travelled with police night patrols in cities as diverse as Houston, Belfast, Zürich and Berlin (to name but a few), my editor suggested that it was time to report on one nearer home, Jerusalem.

On more familiar turf, during October 1983 I did three night rides, one morning and afternoon shift plus a riot patrol when, along with abuse, stones were hurled in an excess of religious zeal.

The exercise gave me an insider's view of the degree to which the police had been neglected under the uncaring baton of the minister then responsible, Dr. Yosef Burg.

I found the rolling stock worn to depletion (of the six vehicles involved only two lasted to the end of the shift). The armaments belonged to an antiquities museum and, under certain topographical conditions the radio sets were inoperable. As could be imagined police morale was low, edging toward despair.

With the advent of the coalition, the recreation of the Ministry of Police and the appointment of Minister Haim Bar-Lev, I was given the opportunity to air my views on the malaise to the new director-general Gadi Aviner, who was only too well aware to what extent the police and the public they serve had been drifting apart under a cloud of scandal.

As an illustration of the public's evaluation of police competence I trotted out the old joke that it took two policemen to write out a ticket, one who could read and the other one who could write.

"A police official present corrected me. 'You are wrong,' he said, 'there must be a third to monitor those two intellectuals.' From that interview emerged the idea to actively promote a bridge between the

police and public by using the most popular and universal medium, television. Aviner charged me there and then to investigate similar programmes abroad, to report back and suggest a format applicable to Israel's needs and conditions.

IN Corpus Christi (Texas) I attended the annual convention of Crime Stoppers, the 600 affiliate-strong organization of law enforcing TV and radio programmes whose 359 branches in August 1985 reported 81,676 criminal cases solved; 18,910 convictions; and the recovery of \$407 million worth of stolen goods for an outlay of \$5.7 million in cash awards.

I investigated the programmes and statistical material of the German-Austrian-Swiss TV programme *Open File*. I saw 10 episodes of the BBC's *Crimewatch*. I spent a day on the location of Scotland Yard's own programme broadcast by London Weekend Television, *Police 5*, and another day in the studio picking the brains of those responsible.

In Holland I sat in on programme conferences and recording sessions of the weekly *Opsporings Verzoek* (Arrest Requested). And everywhere I spoke to those in charge as to methodology, police/TV philosophy, practical experience and statistical results.

Shaw Taylor, the anchorman of LWT's *Police 5* these last 24 years, acquainted me with the history, pitfalls and technique of the "art." With his final advice, "Be precise, be concise and keep away from show-busINESS," ringing in my ears, I prepared my report in consultation with the ministry's project director, the well-trained (in criminology), dynamic and enthusiastic Ruth Gleva. This July we handed in our recommendations and it was now up to the ministry to decide on the programme

format and make the necessary arrangements with Israel Television. It was to be a bi-weekly programme lasting some 20 minutes.

Yes, the TV people were all in favour. They estimated that location work would cost \$1,000 per minute and studio (talking heads) somewhat less. Aviner, looking at his depleted till, had no such funds available. This is where TV management got into the act. Yes, they would do six experimental programmes free of charge provided they (read Rafi Ginat) had complete jurisdiction, with the police only furnishing a list of crimes for his selection, and providing uniformed personnel for interview as and when required as well as "telephone detectives" to receive the public's response.

ON AN ego trip reinforced by the NIH (not invented here) factor, Ginat ignored virtually all our recommendations and, abandoning the idea of a concise, serious and supportive programme, he turned it into a show-business entertainment extravaganza with himself in the title role. This may well please the audience but is too long and to digressive for practical results.

Instead of the envisaged 20 minutes the show was two hours long, of which nine minutes were devoted to explaining its purpose and the part the audience was expected to play. Following this, two rape-murder cases and one rape-attempted murder case were on display.

Now rape cases when combined with murder are hard to crack because there is no one to tell the tale, almost never a previous relationship between villain and victim and, since there are no witnesses, clues are hard to come by. Apart from missing articles subsequently identified, the best one can hope for is the surfacing

of attempted rape cases hitherto unreported. By devoting the whole programme to this subject, *Crime Investigation* set itself a formidable task. But rape in combination with murder (sex and violence) is way up in the ratings and, as such, a powerful show-biz consideration. Yet, from a prudent point of view, the actual presentation was commendably low-key.

But entertainment is not the programme's purpose and if results are to be obtained, the art lies in feeding the viewer with just that information to which he may attach his faded memories. The irrelevant sequence of the soldier leaving the base, her ride to Jerusalem and Beersheba up to her arrival at the rapist's pick-up point, took seven minutes of screen-time and added nothing to the investigation. Even as show-biz it was idle time as was the modest rape scene viewed through the car window. The whole two hours yielded only a few "memory attachment" points: the last two digits on the car which the police should have already screened; the Minolta camera, the handknitted sweater and the brown handbag.

But the paucity of clues and the constant interruptions by Ginat with people only marginally connected with the case distracted the viewer from his real task, to scrape the barrel of his memory. Analysis of programmes like *Police 5* and *Arrest Requested* shows that almost all remembrances can be fruitfully condensed to between two and three minutes. Only in cases where there is an abundance of clues is more time needed. But in such cases the police do not usually need public exposure.

And if an anchorman is needed, let him be someone who has the physical attributes of a police officer. Freak investigators are only found in the realm of TV fiction like potbel-

lied Cannon, skinheaded Kojak or Ironside in his wheelchair. For in the public's imagination the police are competing with *Hawaii 5-0* where it takes 30 minutes (less three minutes for commercials) from finding the corpse to McGarret's cryptic "Book 'em, Dano." Alas, the reality is otherwise.

AT TV HOUSE the flags are out since to date over 1,500 "pieces of information" have been received. This surfeit will pose a problem to the investigators who have to sort the chaff from the wheat. Experience elsewhere shows that these programmes are the cat's whiskers for busybodies, neurotics of all sorts out for an ego trip as well as many good people who like to think that they are "helping the police with their inquiries." Trained telephone detectives who receive the calls will in time learn to spot and eliminate the *nudnik*.

But the most valuable information on crime comes from the criminal milieu itself. Rivalry, the settling of accounts and the general vindictiveness of the unstable make for denunciation. Thus the paying of rewards after conviction is customary in most programmes. Admittedly there is something morally wrong with paying the citizen for doing his civic duty. But financial rewards have been proved to bring results. Where there is some moral hesitancy, rewards are offered under one subtitle or other ("The insurance company... the family has offered a reward of..."). Awards may not be wholly ethical, but police time costs money too.

We have to cut our suit according to our cloth. Israel's pro rata crime statistics are not so much different from elsewhere. *Police 5* caters to a 12 million urban population. It does so with a weekly 20 minute programme, as do the Dutch for an urban/rural population of 14 million. With our 4 million population we should take our cue from the above and not try to ape *Crimewatch* or *Open File* which cater to a population of 56 and 76 million respectively.

When will we learn to start small and grow as and when the need arises, in preference to starting big, and subsequently facing reduction or close-down? Do you know why Scotland Yard chose the title *Police 5*? Because it started in 1961 as a five-minute programme.

# Maker of thrillers murdered in Cairo

Ya'acov Lamdan



Niaz Mustapha

CAIRO WAS stunned recently by news of the murder of Niaz Mustapha, a leading Egyptian filmmaker who specialized in thrillers and mysteries, in circumstances as strange as those of his films.

The body of the 75 year-old director was discovered the night following the murder, stretched out on the floor of his bedroom, his arms pinioned behind his back with thick cord and strangulation marks on his throat. There were no signs of a break-in or burglary in his apartment in the al-Ghiza suburb of Cairo. Hence, the initial presumption that the murderer or murderers were known to the victim. A briefcase containing personal documents was found in his living room, from which the intruder(s) had apparently removed some papers, though no cash or valuables had been touched.

Niaz Mustapha, who made more than 150 thrillers during his 50 years in the cinema, was one of the finest film-makers in the Egyptian movie industry, and despite his age, he possessed inexhaustible energy and a youthful appearance which belied his years. He carried on producing films until the last few days of his life. His final film *The Monkey's Owners* was completed the day before he was murdered.

He loved life and adored women. During one period in his life Niaz Mustapha was even married to two women. At the age of 27 he married an actress by the name of Koka; following this up by marriage to another actress, whom, however, he divorced a few months later. He stayed married to Koka until her death in the Fifties. Though he had many women friends, he did not remarry. His enormous success as a director and his considerable wealth put him in touch over the years with a great number of women, in and out of bohemian circles.

His last companion was Muna Ismail, 28. According to rumours, Niaz Mustapha actually married her in an unofficial, secret ceremony in the presence of two witnesses but Muna Ismail herself denies this vehemently. Whatever the case regarding their relationship, the fact that she was the occasion of the rift between the director and the Egyptian state television is no secret.

Niaz Mustapha wanted Muna Ismail for the star role in a prestigious series that Egyptian television was about to produce called *The Convey of Time*. The drama department head, Mamdouh Laithi, turned him down, having determined that the part would be reserved for a top actress and not a beginner. Niaz Mustapha threatened that if his companion did not get the part he had envisaged for her as director of the series, he would refuse to direct that or any other television series in the future. The dispute came to the attention of the head of television, Samia Sadek, who decided against Muna Ismail's participation in the series and against knocking under to pressure from the celebrated film director. Niaz Mustapha washed his hands of the series which was given to another well-known director, Hassan al-Imam, and broke off all relations with state television. Cheque stubs and savings account

books made out for large sums found in his flat testify to his close relations with Muna Ismail. However, the young woman claims her connection with Niaz Mustapha never went beyond a student-teacher relationship. During her questioning she said she was a married woman and it was inconceivable that she could have been having an affair with the deceased director.

Niaz Mustapha's personal diary contained the names of several new actresses and starlets who were among his prodigies. According to Egyptian police sources, his diary contained a great deal of intimate information likely to help unravel the murder puzzle as well as to cause red faces among several actresses. The police unit for serious crimes is going to call in 45 of the director's acquaintances, including a number of actresses whose names appear in the diary, for questioning. An investigating team headed by a senior police officer with the rank of general, expects that this will give them a lead to the perpetrator of the crime.

NIAZI MUSTAPHA was born in Assiut, a deeply conservative town in southern Egypt, in 1911, and later passed the state matriculation exams with honours. He was sent to Germany in 1931 to study engineering, but once there, he changed his plans and decided to study film at the Cinematic Institute in Munich. After completing his studies, he spent some time in Berlin as a film editor. In 1935 the first film studio was founded in Cairo and Niaz Mustapha was appointed head of the editing department.

After editing at least 10 films he asked for a transfer to directing. The studio owners responded favourably and he was asked to direct *Salame's All Right* starring the master comic Nagib al-Rihani. He then went on to direct more than 150 films, mostly action, suspense and mysteries. Some of Egypt's best film directors today, like Salah Abu Saif and Kamal al-Sheikh were his pupils and also discovered many of Egypt's leading actors and actresses.

Thousands of admirers of his achievements during half a century of activity in the cinema followed his coffin to the cemetery. He was the recipient of many prizes of which the last, for pioneering Egyptian moviemaking, was awarded him only two months before his death.

# Poised to attack and deprived of prey

SOME months ago I was very impressed by the Granada series *End of Empire* which was being shown on Jordan Television. Then they showed an episode devoted to the establishment of the state of Israel, and I was so exasperated by its violent anti-Israel and even anti-Semitic bias that I devoted a whole review one week to lambasting it for its manifold distortions.

If I remember correctly, I applied A. P. Herbert's dictum of the crazy clock to the series: In one of his *Misleading Cases*, Mr. Haddock jumped into the Thames from one of the bridges during the Oxford-versus-Cambridge boat race. He was charged with a variety of offences, to which he raised several alternative defences, all but one of which were considered good by the learned judges.

His final defence was that he was entitled to jump into a river whenever he liked because he was a free Englishman, protected by Magna Carta. After reviewing the history of British freedom from Magna Carta onwards, the judges decided that this defence was utter nonsense, and that an Englishman enjoys no liberties whatsoever.

The judges in their wisdom compared this defence to the thirteenth stroke of a crazy clock, which dishonours not only itself, but all other strokes, apparently correct, which had preceded that thirteenth stroke. So they threw out all Mr. Haddock's defences and found him guilty of every crime with which he was charged. Comparing *End of Empire* to this clock, I suspected that all the episodes, that had so impressed me, were unreliable, because the one on Israel was so bad.

Gideon Rafael, the former ambassador and director-general of the Foreign Ministry, sent a copy of my review to Granada, and received a furious reply from the producers of the film defending its objectivity. One suggestion made by somebody at the time was that Jordan Television may have distorted the film by judicious cutting and editing.

So, when Israel Television began showing the series here, I looked forward to the chance of having a look at the Israeli episode, either with a view to confirming my previous opinion and writing how right I had been, or to apologizing

handsomely for having been unfair to Granada.

Conscientiously I have sat again through episodes devoted to the liberation of India, Aden, Burma and the Gold Coast (now Ghana). The Ghana episode, shown this week, was rather relevant to what is happening in this country at present. Somebody made the point that when Kwame Nkrumah and his henchmen achieved independence for their country and set up an all-African government for the first time, they proved immediately that they had learned from the British how to govern a land and to keep the wheels of administration turning smoothly.

A. G. MacDonnell wrote that the British Empire was built on the secret 5 per cent commission. The men who took over Ghana had absorbed this good lesson, and, indeed, had improved on it; they raised the ante very considerably, much to the indignation of their British mentors, who felt that it was not cricket to make the cost of "favours" prohibitively expensive.

Again I found the series to be very good indeed, but all the time I watched these countries gaining their freedom, I was waiting impatiently for the episode about the only country that really matters in the world. It never came. Another viewer, Ralph Stern of Rehovot, apparently shared my impatience, and did something about it: he wrote to Israel Television asking when it would appear. He received a reply that, "for various reasons," it had been decided not to show this particular episode in Israel.

Now I am seething with indignation. Let us assume that somebody in Israel Television saw the episode, and agreed with my original view that it was heavily biased against us. That is no reason to protect our tender eyes from seeing Granada's presentation of how the state came into being.

My fury may be illogical, considering that I was all set to attack the Granada view, if I found it to be the same as it was when shown on Jordan TV. I reminded myself of the two Irish peasants, waiting to shoot the landlord from behind a hedge. Every day he rode past there punctually at 5 p.m. Five o'clock came - 5:15 - 5:30 - 6. Eventually one

## Telereview

Philip Gillon

would be assassinated to the other. "I hope nothing's happened to the poor gentleman."

Perhaps it is illogical to object to being deprived of a chance to savage the programme once again. But I don't think so. It is not the function of Israel Television to act as censors, protecting us as if we were children. If all the other episodes in the series were worth seeing, so was this one.

WE WERE given a chance to hear the views of an antagonist of our when Ken Livingstone, the chairman of the Greater London Council before Mrs. Thatcher destroyed it, appeared on *This is the Time*. He has been given a safe Labour seat in the next elections and may get a place in the cabinet if Labour wins the election.

For years Livingstone has been a venomous critic of Zionism and a supporter of the PLO. A paper he edited ran a cartoon of Menachem Begin during the bombing of Beirut that was reminiscent of *Der Stürmer*. He has close contacts with the PLO. On one occasion he described Israel as being "on the side of capitalism, exploitive and persecuting the Arab minority." He is now on his first visit to Israel, as a guest of Mapam.

So Ram Evron had masses of ammunition at his disposal, with which he expected to be able to shoot down his guest. I am afraid that he failed completely: he was no match for a typically adroit, smooth and urbane British operator. I hope that Israeli politicians were watching, and that they learned how to handle difficult interviews.

Livingstone made no effort to roll over his questioner like a tank, in the way that Ark Shanon and David Levy do, ignoring the questions, thus giving an impression that they know the questions are unanswerable. Instead Livingstone listened very carefully and politely, and answered directly and to the point. He admitted that the cartoon had been very bitter, but pointed out that at the time the whole world, including hundreds of thousands of

Israelis, had been horrified by what was going on in Lebanon.

His main thesis was that there are no such things anywhere as safe borders, only safe relationships, and that the only hope for Israel lies in winning the peace as we have won the wars. He believes that the PLO have shifted their position, and that Israel too had become more flexible under Peres, but that the two sides have to move much closer and to negotiate. The danger he envisages is that politicians get entrapped in set positions by clichés, like "We can never deal with terrorists."

TEDDY KOLLEK was also on Evron's programme. Teddy has always had a leonine type of head, but I am afraid that he is now looking like an old lion, being savaged by jackals and hyenas.

He said sadly that he does not know whether the smear campaigns to which he has been subjected for more than a year are masterminded by any particular enemy. It is possible that they are not, that his foes are merely mean-spirited creatures who hate to see others achieving wonders, as Teddy has.

Sometimes, when I see a great man like Teddy forced to defend himself against malicious charges, I wonder if the spy was not right when he reported, "It is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof."

THE Israel Broadcasting Authority has come up with another of their curious decisions, this time with regard to the sports programme. First they had a problem with the Israel Football Association which resulted in their stopping all broadcasts of Israeli sports on television and radio: now there is an argument between management and labour about the technicians working overtime on Saturdays and at night.

So the authority decided to abolish the sports programme altogether. They are like the petulant schoolboy, asked to work out Pythagoras's theorem, who solved the riddle by tearing up the exam paper. Or like Alexander cutting the Gordian knot.

It is an effective way of disposing of a difficulty, but it is very hard on the viewers, who will now get no sports at all, just when the sports programmes were becoming particularly interesting. Last Saturday we had McEuer versus Meier, Mandorff versus Leconte, Naples versus

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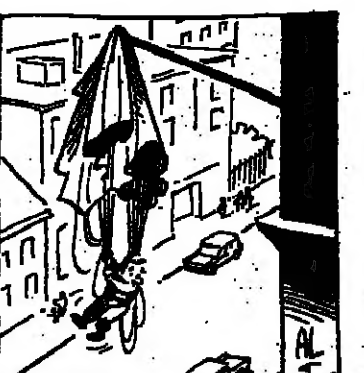
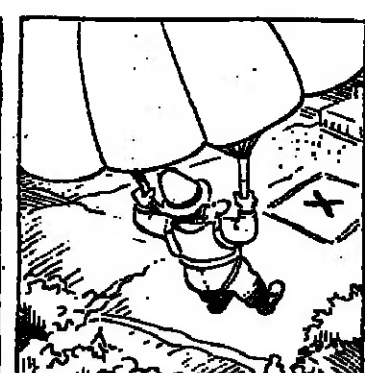
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MARKET PLACE  
AVI TEMKIN

Between Boesky and Bejski

The name of Ivan Boesky did not appear prominently in the Israeli press this week. That is unfortunate, since it had the public would have got a better perspective on the ways "financial wizards" can and should be dealt with when they break the rules of proper behavior.

Ivan Boesky is a wealthy Wall Street trader, who was fined \$100 million last week after it emerged that he had used inside information in his dealings in the stock exchange. The case did not begin or end there. The case began earlier this year with charges of insider trading against Drexel Burnham Lambert trader Dennis Levine and his associates. Now, presumably with the help of Boesky, other Wall Street firms and individuals are being investigated and the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission, the body that polices Wall Street, has subpoenaed several of them. No need for commissions of inquiry, no need for appointing more commissions to study the recommendations of the commissions of inquiry, no need for charging ministerial committees to deliberate on the implications of the bureaucratic commission. Instead we are seeing plain and swift action taken immediately by a government body responsible for the day-to-day enforcement of securities laws.

Ivan Boesky's misdeeds did not include the manipulation of share prices, dubious financing operations or the violation of currency regulations. He did break rules, and therefore by not trial the naive notion of the "impartial market" where one profits by being relatively more effective than others. But he did not jeopardize the entire structure of the economy.

Miles away from Wall Street, in a little known Middle Eastern economy, that should be recognizable to most readers by this recounting, a group of senior bankers was sacked after they were found guilty of manipulating securities over a number of years, and a host of other illegal actions that Boesky did not commit. A special commission was appointed to investigate the affair headed by a Supreme Court Judge, Moshe Bejski. The distance between Boesky's acts and Bejski's rulings is the distance between the way the SEC deals with the Wall Street investor and the ways the authorities in Bejski's country tried to deal with the bankers.

Imagine the following scenario: After several years of questionable dealings on Wall Street by Boesky and Co., somebody discovers that something is wrong. He then goes to the appropriate authorities, the SEC, the Federal Reserve Board or the Treasury. On hearing the terrible news the men heading these bodies decide to set up secret committees to recommend what to do. Months pass and nothing is done.

Sometime later the problems grow so large and evident that no one will take responsibility for dealing with it. Eventually a crisis situation develops. Boesky's acts are made public knowledge. A scandal erupts, a commission appointed, which calls on Boesky to give up his positions in the various trading firms he has set up. He responds by blaming everyone for the problem and gives interviews in which he attacks the SEC for unfair treatment. Boesky finally resigns but gets a \$5 m. compensation to make the shock easier.

This is an absurd scenario—at least it would be in the U.S. Unfortunately it is what happened in that strange little country far away from Wall Street that experienced a bank shares crisis not many years ago. It was these kinds of absurdities that triggered the need for the Bejski Commission. And there is a lesson in all this that should be carefully studied by those ministers now trying to decide what to do with the recommendations of the Bejski Commission.

The lesson is a simple one. Wherever there is a stock exchange there will be those who will seek gain from an advantageous position. Inside information, manipulation, dubious financing, will be always present. It is this situation—the presence of Boesky and others like him, that make it necessary to have supervising bodies that will act swiftly, efficiently, comprehensively to keep the markets clean. The alternative is for a succession of Bejskis.

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Knesset only to see average bank wages

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

The Knesset Finance Committee will not get data on the individual salaries of the commercial banks' top managers, but it will get an average salary for each of the banks' top 10 managers under an agreement worked out between the committee's chairman and the bank, Wednesday.

Last month, the committee had demanded that the banks produce a list detailing the salaries paid to top managers following reports in the press that they were making as much as \$25,000 a month.

Yesterday the committee withdrew its original demand, and after a stormy meeting, decided to adopt an arrangement devised by the committee's chairman, MK Avraham Shapira (Agudat Yisrael) and the heads of the commercial banks.

Shapira met with top bankers privately on Wednesday, where it was agreed that the banks would present the finance committee with average salary figures for their top ten managers. The bankers said giving lists of individual salaries would violate their right to privacy.

Shapira came to Wednesday's meeting accompanied by MK Haim Ramon (Alignment) one of the banks' critics at the Knesset.

SQUALID  
(Continued from Page One)

remember a visit by the Labour Service, which is responsible for the inspection of workers' living conditions in Tel Aviv hotels.

Hundreds—and possibly thousands—of workers employed by Tel Aviv restaurants often have difficulty finding housing in the city, largely because landlords are reluctant to rent to Arabs, and also because of the high rental costs.

In some instances, employers provide warehouse space and the workers are locked inside.

According to a former security man from one of the other five-star hotels on the seaport, Arab workers have been locked overnight in small rooms in that hotel.

Some years ago a fire swept through a warehouse where Arab workers were sleeping. Several of them were burned to death. At the time, municipal, national and police authorities promised to crack down on the problem.

The Diplomat Hotel houses 20 workers in a three-room flat at 12, Rehov Daniel, near the Carmel Market.

And the Plaza Hotel, at 89, Rehov Gordon has 30 workers sharing a three-room flat. The workers sleep in shifts.

Mayor Shlomo Lahat is opposed in principle to residents from the territories working in Tel Aviv. "It is debilitating for Israeli society," the mayor has said. "But if there are going to be workers from the territories inside the Green Line, then they must all be guaranteed decent working and living conditions."

"Large numbers of Arab workers reach the city daily," the mayor recently told a group of reporters. "And the police are not dealing with the problem appropriately."

Arabs from the territories must hold work permits, which are obtained by their employers. But police and municipal sources estimate that there are thousands who work without such permits, making them vulnerable to exploitation and unable to benefit from union protection, national insurance and other social benefits.

The mayor's office often receives complaints from residents complaining about neighbouring apartments in which a dozen or more workers share living quarters.

Some police sources have expressed concern that these are a "breeding ground for crime and terrorism."

But according to a Tel Aviv police spokeswoman, the police investigate workers' living quarters only when they have received information of crimes being committed.

In such cases, the workers are interrogated and asked to produce their work permits, which also give them permission to remain in the city overnight. If they can't produce the permits, they face between one and two months' imprisonment.

"The police know that many workers from the territories are in Tel Aviv without the appropriate permits. But they do not have the resources to make the matter of licensing a top priority," said the spokeswoman.

Peter van der Klier, the general manager of the Hilton, which has trained many of this country's hotel management staff, said he was "astonished" to hear that there are hotels housing workers in conditions such as the three-by-five room in the tunnel under the Ramada.

Hilton personnel manager Moshe Navon said that "the only way to provide good service to guests is to provide good service to workers."

The Hilton provides transportation 24 hours a day for workers who need it, and when a worker is required to stay overnight because of some special event, he is provided with a regular hotel room, Van der Klier said.

WORLD BUSINESS IN BRIEF

Consumer spending in U.S. down

WASHINGTON (AP). — Americans' spending plunged a record 2 percent in October, while personal income rose a modest 0.4 percent, the government reported yesterday.

The Commerce Department blamed the huge decline in personal consumption spending on a big drop in auto sales last month after increases in the two previous months, as consumers rushed to take advantage of attractive cut-rate financing offers.

The spending decline, the biggest in 27 years of record keeping, followed a 1.4 percent increase in September and a 0.9 percent increase in August. Economists have expressed concerns that with Americans' incomes growing so slowly, they will be forced to cut back on the spending spree which has provided much of the momentum for economic growth. The big drop in spending in October would seem to support that theory.

ANGLO-FRENCH FINANCIER Sir James Goldsmith gave up his bid to take over the giant Goodyear Tire firm, just 48 hours after he and Goodyear Chairman Robert Mercer confronted each other at a U.S. congressional hearing.

Goodyear said it would buy back Goldsmith's 11.5 percent stake for \$49.50 a share and added that it would buy back an additional 40 million shares for \$50 each.

Goldsmith had privately offered to buy the remainder of Goodyear's shares for \$49 a share, valuing the company at a total of \$5.3 billion. The bid ran into strong opposition from Goodyear and its workers in its home base in Akron, Ohio.

LOANS TO MEXICO totalling \$1.68 billion were disbursed yesterday by the International Monetary Fund as part of the international rescue package intended to prevent default on the country's foreign debts.

Disbursement came after the committee representing Mexico's creditor banks announced that 90 percent of the banks had committed to participate in their \$6b. portion of the \$12b. rescue package.

FRANCE HAS ORDERED AN EMBARGO on imports of crude oil and petroleum products from the Soviet Union, in a move aimed at improving France's trade deficit with the Soviets, French External Trade Minister Michel Noir said yesterday.

The embargo takes effect immediately and will last into early 1987, Noir said.

It is identical to one imposed by the French government in October 1982, observers recalled.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

<b>Indices:</b>			
General Share Index	123.31	+0.38%	
Non-Bank Index	166.40	+0.80%	
Arrangement	105.30	+0.10%	
Insurance	184.76	-0.06%	
Commerce, Services	206.08	+0.14%	
Real Estate	208.52	+0.51%	
Industrials	148.33	+0.48%	
Textiles	214.30	+1.37%	
Metals	158.57	+1.28%	
Electronics	106.72	+0.65%	
Chemicals	137.73	+0.04%	
Industrial Invest.	141.32	+1.26%	
Investment Cos.	187.97	+2.82%	
General Bond Index	113.97	+0.18%	
Index-linked Bonds	115.74	+0.13%	
Fully-linked	117.48	+0.11%	
Partially-linked	114.84	+0.16%	
Dollar-linked Bonds	94.25	+0.43%	
Short-term 0-2 yrs	111.90	+0.20%	
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	113.23	+0.14%	
Long-term 5+ yrs	107.47	+0.21%	
<b>Turnovers:</b>			
Shares—total	NIS 14,601,100		
Arrangement	NIS 11,880,300		
Non-bank	NIS 2,920,800		
Bonds—total	NIS 5,063,200		
Index-linked	NIS 4,612,200		
Dollar-linked	NIS 1,451,200		
Treasury Bills	NIS 720,400		
<b>Share Movements:</b>			
Advances	171 (147)		
of which 5% +	31 (22)		
"buyers only"	2 (6)		
Declines	107 (143)		
of which 5% +	13 (11)		
"sellers only"	0 (0)		
Unchanged	102 (83)		
Trading Halt	40 (37)		
<b>Bond Market Trends:</b>			
Index-linked:			
3% fully-linked	Mixed to 0.5%		
4.25% fully-linked	Mixed to 1%		
80% linked	Rises slightly		
Double-linked	Stable/falls to 1%		
Dollar-linked:			
Admon	Rises to 1.5%		
Rimon	Rises to 1%		
Gilboa	Rises to 0.5%		
For. Curr.			
denominated	Stable/mixed to 0.5%		
Treasury Bills	20.00-21.50%		
(annual yield)			
<b>Arrangement yields:</b>			
IDB ord.	18.77%		
Union 0.1	16.55%		
Discount A	16.81%		
Mizrahi r.	16.39%		
Hapoalim r.	16.77%		
General A	15.39%		
Leumi stock	16.74%		
Fin. Trade 1	15.11%		
<b>Trade &amp; Services</b>			
Meir Ezra	1515	2413	+5.4
Supersol 2	1815	1533	+2.2
Delet r.	3400	4070	+1.4
Lightstar	14800	37	-
Cold Storage	2030	337	+1.8
Dan Hotels	1815	211	+1.4
Yarden Hotel	2820	208	-2.1
Hilton 1	31350	30	+1.3
Team 1	1890	2169	-
<b>Real Estate, Building and Agriculture</b>			
Azorim	848	6581	-
Elion	788	16366	+1.0
Adira Int. 0.1	37940	141	+0.5
Dankner	5000	296	+1.8
Prop. & Bldg.	3180	1752	+1.1
Bayside 0.1	4648	120	+1.0
ILDC r.	59150	260	+0.9
Reco r.	no trading		
Mehadrin	8310	482	-
Hadarim	1385	4181	+3.8
<b>Industrials</b>			
Dubek b	3928	1920	+2.1
Pr-Ze 1	no trading		
Sunfront	11800	189	-
Elite	17100	482	+1.8
Argaman r	575	3442	+2.7
Delta G 1	no trading		
Mequente 1	3405	3558	+2.3
Eagle 1	5080	1510	+5.0
Polgat	14200	35	+0.4
Schoellerline	3675	688	-
14800	85	+3.2	
Is. Can Co. 1	2470	582	+3.0
Is. Can Co. 1	7189	885	+5.0
Unican 0.1 r.	2620	1827	+2.3
Zion Cables	2275	426	-3.4
Packer Steel	13020	295	-
Elbit	40800	52	-2.4
Elron	337000	24	-1.5
<b>Investment Companies</b>			
IDB Dev. r	4890	3007	+2.0
Elion	3385	1070	+0.1
ARK 1	220	2802	+7.8
Gahelet	1375	202	-
Israel Corp. 1	10035	1120	-
Wolfson 1 r	118000	-	+0.9
Hapoalim Inv.	6515	2139	-
Leumi Invest.	no trading		
Discount Invest.	2870	5707	+2.2
Mizrahi Invest.	17524	180	+4.9
Cla 10	970	12888	+5.5
Landeco 0.1	5000	120	-
Parma 0.1	9500	85	+1.2
<b>Oil Exploration</b>			
Pac Oil Expl.	17680	58	+1.0
J.O.E.L.	3727	898	+5.0
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FINANCIAL DATA: ISRAEL, EUROPE, U.S.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES  
PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.58% per month  
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	Last Updated	Tapas	Pakam 7-Day	Pakam 30-Day
LEUMI	20.11	7-17.00%	8-17.75%	8-19.25%
HAPOLIM	28.10	10-17%	11-17.50%	13-19.00%
DISCOUNT	17.10	8-16.50%	8-17%	14-19.00%
MIZRAHI	8.5	8-16%	8-16%	6-17%
FIRST INT'L	11.11	10-16%	11-17.20%	13-19.50%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.  
Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.  
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 59 days.)

PATAH—FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (November 20)

	MINIMUM DEP	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD (\$100,000)	5.250	5.250	5.250	5.250
STG (£100,000 pounds)	3.625	3.625	3.625	3.625
DMK (100,000 marks)	3.750	3.750	3.750	3.750
SPR (50,000 francs)	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000
YEN (3,000,000 yen)	3.125	3.125	3.125	3.125

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES (November 20)

	CHEQUES AND TRANSFERS	BANKNOTES	Rep. Rates
	Buy Sell	Buy Sell	
Currency basket	1 1.4880 1.5070	—	1.4880
U.S. Dollar	1 1.4857 1.5043	1.45 1.52	1.4870
Deutsche Mark	1 0.7389 0.7492	0.72 0.76	0.7458
Pound Sterling	1 2.0983 2.1256	2.04 2.14	2.1150
French Franc	1 0.2259 0.2287	0.22 0.23	0.2277
Japanese Yen	100 0.8126 0.8240	0.80 0.82	0.8150
Dutch Florin	1 0.6551 0.6633	0.64 0.67	0.6602
Swiss Franc	1 0.8886 0.9008	0.87 0.91	0.8961
Swedish Krona	1 0.2140 0.2167	0.21 0.22	0.2156
Norwegian Krone	1 0.1965 0.1989	0.19 0.20	0.1980
Danish Krone	1 0.1959 0.1983	0.19 0.20	0.1973
Finnish Mark	1 0.3007 0.3045	0.29 0.31	0.3032
Canadian Dollar	1 1.0735 1.0889	1.06 1.10	1.0816
Australian Dollar	1 0.9588 0.9688	0.90 0.98	0.9644
S. African Rand	1 0.6826 0.6709	0.43 0.52	0.5884
Belgian Franc	10 0.3530 0.3580	0.36 0.38	0.3588
Austrian Shilling	100 1.0507 1.0639	1.03 1.08	1.0589
Jordanian Dinar	1 —	4.07 4.38	4.2516
Egyptian Pound	1 —	0.74 0.73	0.7384
ECU	1 1.5392 1.5588	—	1.5813



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## Some good medicine

WITH ALL ITS manifest and much-advertised faults, the system of socialized medicine based largely, but not solely, on the Histadrut's sick fund, Kupat Holim, is one of Israel's proudest achievements. Very few countries, even in the developed world can boast of such quality low-cost health care available for the bulk of the population.

But the system does have its faults, and they threaten its very survival. Over the years the Histadrut's sick fund has grown not only older and bigger but also more ponderous and inefficient.

Assailed by rising client expectations for improved service, doctor demands for higher remuneration, galloping costs of more elaborate equipment, and decreasing government subsidies, Kupat Holim has been finding it ever harder to reconcile its egalitarian commitments with the promotion of excellence in health care.

Nowhere, perhaps, has the sick fund's failure been more obvious than in the lengthening queues for even urgent surgical operations due to the surgical theatres being open only five mornings a week. In order to jump sometimes year-long queues, and get the best surgeon there is, sick fund members in droves have been resorting to specialists' private, and expensive, services often in private hospitals; or if they happened to be something in the nature of VIPs, to the hoary old device of *protektzia*.

In its eagerness to beat off the inroads of privatization, Kupat Holim has thus in effect been aiding and abetting the growth of under-the-table "black" medicine right at home.

Not only the specialists who have profited handsomely from such practices, but most physicians in general, who feel that they are the worst paid of the liberal professions, seem to have taken the perversion of socialized medicine in their stride. But so, too, have sick fund members who apparently figured that, considering their state of health, they could not spurn the safety valve of affordable private medicine.

With the incidence - or at least the publication of the incidence - of black medicine's alarming growth, Kupat Holim has at long last taken the bull by the horns. Its highest policy-making body has now come up with a revolutionary plan for restructuring the sick fund. Surprisingly, the plan was drafted without consulting the Health Ministry, which might be thought to have something to say in the matter; and it is still subject to negotiation with the doctors.

The plan may not go far enough. But in its overall thrust, aimed at coming to terms with reality, it deserves a hearty welcome.

Under the plan, operating theatres in sick fund hospitals will be working on weekday afternoons and evenings and on Fridays. To ward off *protektzia*, a patient's place in a queue will be determined by a computer at Kupat Holim headquarters. Senior physicians will also be able to serve as consultants in outpatient clinics, for which they will receive additional pay from the sick fund. These are only some of the proposed reforms.

In return for the increased emoluments, doctors will have to formally undertake not to engage in outside private work. Some of them may refuse to do so, and keep insisting on their right to do whatever they please in their spare time. However, in that case they will have to move out into wholly private medicine, for which there is surely room in this country. But for Kupat Holim doctors who remain within a system of socialized medicine, the plan spells a vast improvement.

Implementation of the plan will cost a great deal of money, but its drafters have skirted the delicate question of where the money is to come from. Presumably it will come in part from higher taxes on alcohol and tobacco - if the health minister's suggestion on this point is approved by the Knesset - and from increased membership fees, and special payment for some doctor visits and operations.

Any such departure from strict egalitarianism will no doubt cause anguish to some veteran sick fund members. To them it will have to be explained that the only alternative to relaxation of the old orthodoxies is the eventual conversion of Kupat Holim into the agent of poor medicine for the poor.

## POLLARD

(Continued from Page One)

described the way he felt about his one-year ordeal. He admitted that he had made a mistake by not moving to Israel early in his career. "I broke the law. I'm not minding any words. I'm not above the law. Unfortunately, I should have gone on aliyah at that point [before joining U.S. Navy Intelligence]."

He said he had been tormented throughout his life by the conflict between staying in America and moving to Israel.

In the past year Pollard has lost 27 kilos. But he looked fit yesterday. He said that he had also stopped smoking over the past year. "Those have been the few positive developments that have happened," he said.

Expressing disappointment in the reaction of the American Jewish community, he said: "I'll be the first to admit that I broke the law. But give the kid a little empathy. I thought I was helping Israel and the U.S." He added: "I was neither engaged in nor directed to conduct any activities against the U.S. and I will never admit to that fact."

Asking the Israeli leadership to reassess its entire approach towards him, he said: "By avoiding the issue, Israel is leaving an unburied body to rot and sink and fowl the air."

Pollard pleaded guilty last June to espionage charges. His wife pleaded guilty to the lesser charge of possessing classified documents. Both are still awaiting sentencing. Anne Pollard has been released on bail while Pollard is locked in a six-by-nine cell in this maximum security federal penitentiary. He has been isolated because of threats on his life by neo-Nazi groups.

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## Israel and the Iran 'affair'

# The danger of underhand dealings

Gideon Rafael

A MONTH before he started his Lebanese venture, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon went to Washington. Equipped with a set of operational maps and infectious enthusiasm, he tried to convince the top echelon of the Reagan administration of the feasibility and advantage of his grand design to establish a "New Order" in the Middle East.

En passant, he disclosed that Israel, in contravention of a solemn commitment given by prime minister Begin to president Carter, was shipping arms to Khomeini's Iran, at war with Iraq. Whether Sharon's revelation was meant to gain friends for his plans to revamp the Orient or to divert attention from the imminent military intervention, or both, remains a moot question.

Reprimanded by his embarrassed prime minister, Sharon corrected his statement, an art he masters second to none. Sharon's main argument was that supplying arms to Iran at that time would strengthen the military leadership expected to overthrow the Ayatollah's regime in the wake of an unsuccessful war. By shipping arms, Israel would ingratiate itself with the potential rebel successors to the Khomeini regime.

After the Israeli-Iranian arms transactions had become public knowledge, this writer commented on their wisdom and utility in an article (*The Jerusalem Post*, June 4, 1982) principally intended to sound a warning against a full-scale military intervention in Lebanon. In the light of the recent developments in connection with the arms supplies to Iran, it may be useful to recall the critical observations on this subject contained in that article.

"A transaction which started as a sordid business deal launched by a few enterprising wheeler dealers with former Iranian and Israeli military connections, has now been elevated by the minister of defence (Sharon) to the summit of strategic wisdom, wrapped into a harebrained doctrine of the strategic necessity for a victory of Khomeini's savage Islamism over Saddam Hussein's ferocious Arabism."

However, from Israel's point of view, the Iran-Iraq war is a clearcut case of a plague on both your houses. An Israeli booster-shot will neither eradicate the Khomeini plague, nor dispel the Iraqi beast. Why a fanatic Islamic regime, emerging in a defeated Iraq, allied with a ruthless Iranian dictatorship, should be a better bid for Israel defies the elementary rules of political logic. To believe that the victory of Khomeinism will lead to its overthrow by a junta of generals, bound to Israel by gratitude is, to say the least, a sign of political infantilism.

"The expansion of Islamic fanaticism throughout the Middle East is at present a more acute danger to the stability of the region and the consolidation of the peace between Israel and Egypt than the intensification of Arab hostility or the extension of Soviet influence in the area. An Islamic wave will not block it but rather promote it."

SINCE THEN, four years and one Lebanon war later, the fighting between Iran and Iraq has not abated and the Khomeini regime is still in power, while Saddam Hussein's ruthless rule seems to have weakened under the impact of a series of setbacks. On the other hand, Khomeinism has extended its tentacles into Lebanon, trying to mould the Shi'ite community in its image, using the extremist Islamic Hizbullah as an instrument to terrorize Iran's French, Arab, American and Israeli enemies. Bombing, sky-jacking and hostage taking are their principal weapons of assault.

It is claimed that the plight of the hostages, held by Khomeinist terror organizations in Lebanon and the emergence of important moderate elements in Iran, girding for the battle of Khomeini's succession, NO USEFUL purpose would be served to intervene from here in the American debate, particularly when the administration is endeavouring to avoid a discussion of Israel's part in the arms deals, probably not so much in order to avoid embarrassing its government but rather not to inflame further the indignation running high among Washington's Arab friends.

prompted Washington to embark on a new course towards Iran. The taking of hostages and trading them for an exorbitant ransom has been an integral part of the policy of the Khomeini regime from its inception. It freed 52 American diplomats, held in their own embassy for 444 days, only after the U.S. released several billion dollars worth of frozen Iranian assets. In retribution the Carter administration imposed a strict and total arms embargo on Iran, confirmed and upheld by its successor. On various occasions the American administration intervened with governments, including that of Israel, suspected of circumventing the ban.

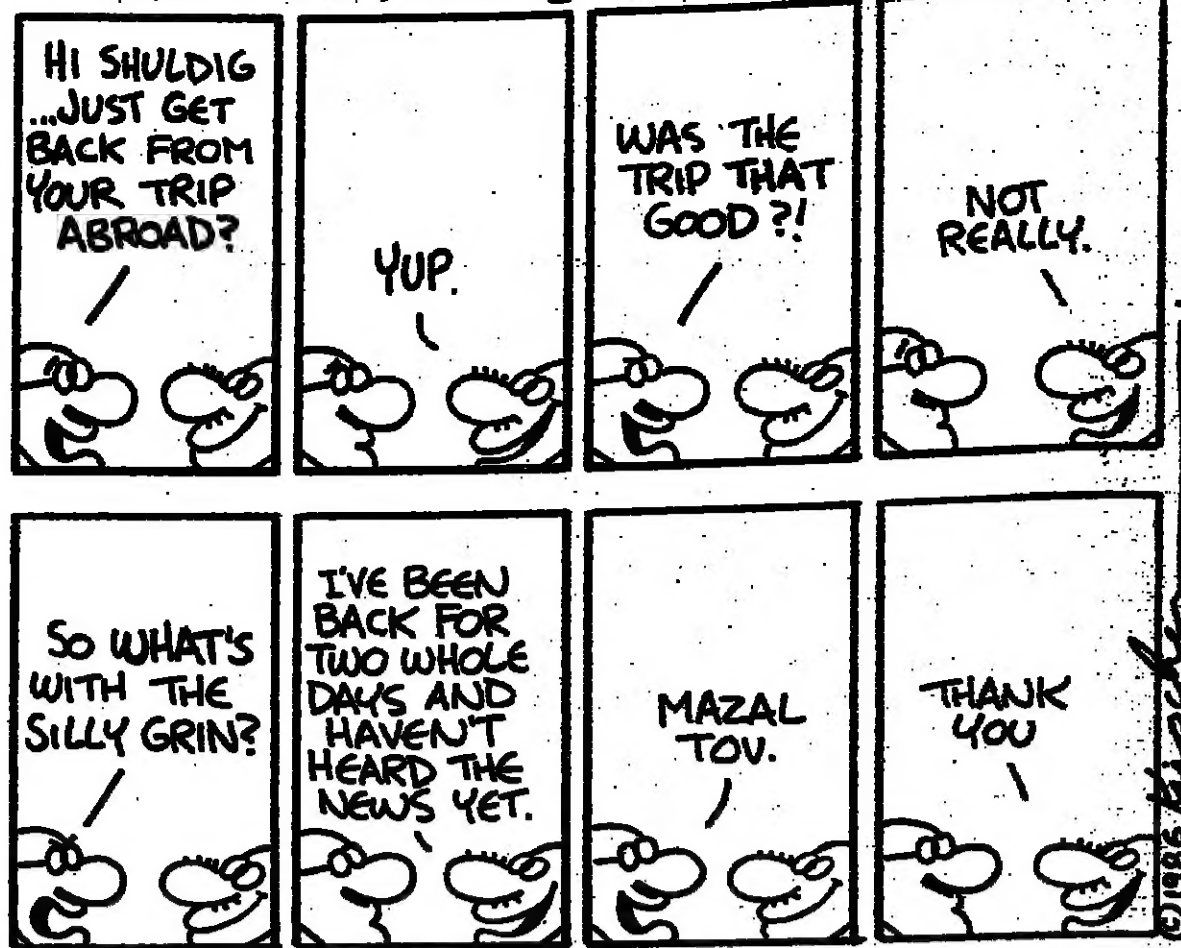
Israel's own bitter experience with Iranian-organized Islamic militancy, operating in the vicinity of its northern border, could hardly have induced it to adopt and recommend policies and actions liable to benefit Iranian fundamentalism. The ultimate argument advanced for the establishment of covert contacts between representatives of Washington and Teheran, enhanced by the supply of military equipment, was the advisability for the U.S. to get its foot in the Iranian door in anticipation of the changes expected to occur after the demise of the grim Ayatollah. Reportedly "informed," but not exactly disinterested, Iranian arms procurement agents advised Washington through the good offices of their Israeli business partners to cultivate the group of Parliament Speaker Rafsanjani, an important public figure of supposedly moderate tendencies. An assured supply of military equipment would be the best introduction. Top Israeli officials took this advice and conveyed it with alacrity to their counterparts in Washington.

The belief, however, that success in the procurement of arms in times of national emergency paves the way to the premiership, apparently emanates from the Israeli experience. But whether it fits the Iranian realities, Israeli strategic interest and American objectives is a different question. While Rafsanjani and his friends denounced and ridiculed the American political approaches, they accepted, with the consent of their supposed rivals and the blessing of Khomeini, the American military hardware. The whole affair has become a matter of intensive critical public debate in the U.S. Suffice it to refer to one comment made by Professor Fouad Ajami, the outstanding expert on Middle East affairs at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, who wrote the other day in *The New York Times*: "From a forbidding distance the administration purports to understand Iran's factions. A place beyond America's scrutiny is suddenly talked about with some familiarity. The Reagan officials have fixed the radical label onto the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's designated successor, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri. The moderate label has been assigned to the speaker of parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani. But all of this is guesswork. In a revolutionary situation of the kind that obtains in Iran, the presumed moderates, if indeed there are any, may scurry for cover and change their tune; or the ground underneath them may crack as the true believers turn against them with a vengeance."

UNLIKE the president of the United States, the prime minister of Israel has not yet enlightened the public or an appropriate Knesset forum on the reasons for involving Israel in dubious dealings with the Khomeini regime. So far the only answer given, that we must assist the U.S. when asked, does not hold water for the simple reason that Israel volunteered its assistance, unsolicited by Washington.

The argument that the exchange of hostages for shiploads of armaments is a humanitarian cause worth our support is a complete novelty in Israeli political thought and anti-terrorist practice. We and other countries were sometimes forced in the past to make startling exceptions from our proclaimed principle not to

## The Friday Dry Bones



But what we cannot escape is a domestic discussion of the implications of Israel's involvement in the imbroglio. Too much is at stake in terms of the country's method of governance, the credibility of its government, the direction of its foreign policy, the assessment of its security concerns and the way and wisdom of its decision making.

Let's summarize the facts:  
 1) In 1980, the government committed itself to the United States administration and to the Knesset to refrain from supplying or transshipping military equipment to the Khomeini regime. An attempt by the then minister of defence Sharon in the spring of 1982 to obtain at least the tacit consent of the Reagan administration for arms shipments was turned down.

2) Nonetheless, frequent rumours and reports appeared over the years about Israeli arms deals with Iran. They were all categorically denied by the government and so were discreet inquiries from the U.S. and other friendly governments.

3) The situation changed in 1985, when upon top-level Israeli governmental advice, the White House agreed to establish contacts with the Khomeini government through the intermediary of well placed Israeli and Iranian arms dealers in Europe, who had convinced high ranking Israeli officials of the utility of their transactions not only for their private purse but for the common good. They apparently adopted the philosophy of Charlie Wilson, the erstwhile U.S. secretary of defence and president of General Motors: "What is good for Jacob Nimrod, is good for Israel; and what is good for Israel is good for the United States." It is indeed an enticing, but not necessarily valid argument.

Moreover, there arises a wider question: How are top-level decisions made, for instance that on the initiation of the Iranian connection? Was it subjected to meticulous scrutiny by the cabinet or a special committee appointed by it? Were the sources of information and their motivations thoroughly checked? Were the possible consequences discussed beforehand?

Unfortunately, from its early days on, the state suffered from a number of mishaps in the field of clandestine operations. Presumably Israel's re-

surrender to terrorist extortion. But the deviations confined themselves solely to exchanges of detainees and captives but never included barter of arms for hostages. If that practice were to prevail, manhunt would become the preferred method of procurement. Has anyone in Israel, of sound mind, ever contemplated trading rocks for prisoners with Ahmed Jibril? Why then suggest such an eccentricity to our best friends?

Did our officials really believe their arms-dealer friend's arguments that the supply of *matériel* would pave the road to a better world in Iran, where the American "satan" would be celebrated as a guardian angel and the Zionist occupier as saviour? Is it the customary practice of the world fraternity of the merchants of death to wrap their shady deals in alluring ideologies? Why did our officials, with easy access to ample foreign affairs expertise, accept glib sales talk for authentic information?

The search for an answer evokes intriguing questions. Is our foreign policy founded on basic principles, defined objectives, accumulated experience and an effective method of examination of problems as they arise? Or has it become a jumble of improvisations and manipulations, attractive by their conspiratorial nature, but not by their long term political yields? After all, the Foreign Ministry is not a playground for agile individual performers, but an institution where operations and concepts must be coordinated through teamwork. The rules that prevail in the subterranean world of covert activities are rather different from those that govern the conduct of above-board diplomacy. Whereas concealment and deception are the customary - though not always particularly attractive - practice in the cloak-and-dagger world, the promotion of trust, understanding and cooperation are the preferred methods of diplomacy.

Accountability, credibility, sagacity, tightened controls and improved processes of decision making are the necessary safeguards for avoiding ill-conceived operations, averting security mishaps and preserving Israel's prestige as an enlightened democracy.

The writer is a former director general of the Foreign Ministry.

cord in this regard is not worse than that of other countries. But where we seem to differ is the way the government deals with the failures which we prefer to call "affairs." When uncovered they provoke great public excitement and in most cases discreet governmental inquiry. Normally the facts and defects are discovered but rarely is the ultimate responsibility and culpability of the political and operational level conclusively attributed. Politicians, unless they lack the necessary clout, are normally protected from painful consequences and officials or officers, directly responsible for the mishap, are granted hush awards by being shunted to greener pastures of lucrative positions at home or abroad.

The problem is not the deficiency of investigation but the lack of responsibility. If we want to spare ourselves more fiascos, the government and Knesset have to tighten the rules of accountability, not only in regards to the persons who erred but also to the organs of government which failed.

No less important is the adoption of stricter and more effective measures of supervision of covert activities. Various inquiry commissions submitted in the course of time specific recommendations, but most of them remain unimplemented. The establishment of a small non-political consultative body, responsible to the prime minister, composed of personalities experienced in the fields of security, intelligence, law and foreign affairs would constitute an invaluable instrument in helping save competent services from available errors, decision makers from faulty judgments and the country from harmful initiatives.

Last but not least the government must observe high standards of credibility. Trust is the essence of prospering relations with other countries. Frequent misleading denials of easily provable facts undermine not only the credibility of the government abroad but the people's confidence at home.

Accountability, credibility, sagacity, tightened controls and improved processes of decision making are the necessary safeguards for avoiding ill-conceived operations, averting security mishaps and preserving Israel's prestige as an enlightened democracy.

The writer is a former director general of the Foreign Ministry.

READERS' LETTERS on page 17

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